ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER ED001106	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S). N.A	3. IDENTIFICATION NO. N.A.	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW

4. AUTHOR(S):
Action for Boston Community Development, Inc.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED:
The Boston Youth Opportunities Project: A Report and a Proposal

6. PUBLICATION TITLE:
N.A.

7. EDITOR(S):
N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
ORG. Action for Boston Community Development, Inc.
ST. 18 Tremont Street
CITY, STATE Boston, Mass.
TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE
Action for Boston Comm. Development, Inc.
Boston, Massachusetts

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	Dec 63	287

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE
YES ☐ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GRANTED
YES ☐ NO ☒

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FILED
YES ☐ NO ☐

TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL XX
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☐
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR
report

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

		guidance	tutoring
juvenile delinquency	community services	pre-kindergarten	home-school relations
disadvantaged youth	vocational training	summer programs	programs
research design	reading development	work-study	culturally deprived ABCD

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

The Boston Youth Opportunities Project has developed its plans for an attack on delinquency in the form of an action-research project. The projects' activities in the community are given, and the larger areas for this attack are described. The project is aimed at reducing the volume and seriousness of criminal-type behavior of male youth 12 through 16 years of age in the specified target areas.

A rationale selects the key factors in the problem that presumably can be manipulated to bring about change. A lower-class child's experiences have produced a set of values and expectations that diverge sharply from those of the system, and a destructive cycle of mutual misunderstanding and inappropriate expectation is set in motion. The individual and the control system should be brought closer by intervening in both sides. Factors applying to those who perform roles that impinge on youth and factors directly applying to youth are presented. These are theoretical bases for the specific programs.

Sixteen programs and their budgets are described. Services centers are proposed for four communities. Included are legal, employment, educational, medical and other social services. A youth training and employment program is directed at youths who are out of school and unemployed. Eight programs are planned with the Boston public schools. The first group includes reading, pre-kindergarten, guidance advisors, and school adjustment counselors. The second group consists of work-study, tutoring, ability identification and development, and home-school liaison. During the summer, a combination camp-school program and a college campus program are planned. An action-research approach involves two problems in measurement. At the end of the project, it should be determined whether each program accomplished its own purpose, and whether individually or in combinations they contributed to the reduction of delinquency. The research design and the budget are described.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION

20. DIVISION OR DEPT.

21. CONTRACT NO.

PROJECT NO.

22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT

23. DURATION OR PROJECT

U.S. Department of Health,
Education, and Welfare
Office of Education

5

ERIC Form 1

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PRINTED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ERIC
B5

THE
BOSTON YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES PROJECT:
A REPORT AND A PROPOSAL

ACTION
FOR
BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
INC.

ED001106

THE
BOSTON YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES PROJECT:

A REPORT AND A PROPOSAL

To the

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH CRIME

From
ACTION FOR BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, INC.
18 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

December, 1963

ACTION FOR BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, INC.

18 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

December 12, 1963

Mr. Bernard Russell, Director
Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development
Office of the Commissioner of Welfare
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Russell:

I am pleased to transmit herewith to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime the Report and the Proposal from the Boston Youth Opportunities Project.

The Report and the Proposal has been approved by the Board of Directors of Action for Boston Community Development, Inc. and by the Program Advisory Committee to the Project. At its meeting on December 11, 1963, the ABCD Board of Directors voted:

> "That the Report and the Proposal for the Boston Youth Opportunities Project be approved and submitted to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, and that the staff of ABCD be authorized to make such amendments and alterations in the Report and Proposal, with the approval of the Executive Committee, as may be required as a result of negotiations with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime."

We wish to call your attention to the fact that the Budgets that appear on page 281 and following pages are the latest revised figures; the Budgets included in Chapter V of the Proposal, in some instances, do not correspond with the revised figures and will have to be changed.

Sincerely,

Joseph S. Slavet
Executive Director

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. THE PROJECT'S ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY.......... 1

Organization of the Project.................... 1

Early Planning with the Public Schools 16

Planning the Youth Training and Employment Program..................................18

Research Activities............................21

Project Activities in Public Recreation, Health, Public Housing and School Planning.................................24

Descriptive Sketches of the Districts in the Project Study Area....................41

Prefactory Note to Chapters II through VI.....52

II. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT.......................54

Measuring Youth Crime..........................58

The Volume of Official Contacts with Juveniles by Law Enforcement Officials...61

Refinement of the Project's Objectives Based on the Analysis of the Problem.....80

Distinction Among Target, Measurement and Program Populations.......................82

III. THE RATIONALE.......................................86

IV. THE ACTION-RESEARCH FRAMEWORK.......................103

Policy Issues Involved in the Demonstration..114

V. THE ACTION STRATEGIES AND THE PROGRAMS.............120

Program 1: Roxbury Services Center..........124

Program 2: Charlestown Service Center.......132

Program 3: The South End Neighborhood Service Center...............136

Program 4: Legal Services...................140

Program 5: Youth Training and Employment....145

Evaluation of the Youth Training and Employment Program...................161

Boston Public School Program: Background Information.....175

Program 6: Reading..........................177

Reading Consultation in Elementary Schools.........179

Enrichment Program...........181

Developmental Reading in Junior High Schools........182

Evaluation of the Reading Programs..................185

Program 7: Guidance Advisors in Junior High.190

Program 8: School Adjustment Counseling.....193

Program 9: Pre-Kindergarten Classes.........199

Program 10: Work Study.......................203

Program 11: Tutoring.........................208

Program 12: Ability, Identification and Development....................211

Program 13: Home-School Liaison..............216

Program 14: Camp-School Programs.............219

Program 15: College Campus Summer Program ...224

Program 16: Scholarships.....................228

VI. MEASURING THE IMPACT OF THE PROJECT AND TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS......................................233

The Cohort or Measurement Population..........254

The Prediction Instrument.....................261

The Tracking and Data Processing Center.......266

VII. PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS............................275

BUDGET..281

APPENDIXES

A. ABCD Board of Directors

B. Program Advisory Committee to the Project

C. Program Committee of the ABCD Board

D. Male Court Appearances by Census Tracts Boston, 1959-1961

TABLES AND MAPS

TABLE I: Boston Police Department Warnings and Arrests of Juveniles, 1959-1961, By Sex....63

TABLE II: Male Juvenile Court Appearances 1959 to 1961 By Age....65

TABLE III: Male Juvenile Court Appearances Boston 1959-1961 Volume and Rate By Age....66

TABLE IV: Court Appearance Rates by Three Year Age Cohorts, Males, Washington Park 1959-1961....68

TABLE V: Individual Rates, One or More Court Appearances By Three Year Age Cohorts Males, Washington Park, 1959-1961....69

TABLE VI: Distribution of Census Tracts By Area and By Court Apeearance Rates Per 1000 Males 7 Through 16 Years of Age, 1959-1961 Averages, 1960 Population, Boston....74

TABLE VII: Total Male Court Appearances and Average Rate For Boston and Areas of Boston 1959-1961....79

MAPS

Map of Study Area of the Project....42

Appendix D - City of Boston By Census Tract

CHAPTER I

THE PROJECT'S ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY

Organization of the Project

Shortly after the Congress enacted the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, representatives of a number of local agencies met to consider how Boston could participate in the program that was emerging from the new legislation. The group met informally during the summer and fall of 1961 to pool information on juvenile delinquency in Boston, to discuss what needed to be done to deal with the problem, and to become familiar with the procedures being developed by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

As a result of these discussions, in March, 1962, five agencies jointly submitted to the President's Committee a working paper, which was a collection of ideas on the kinds of programs that should go into a demonstration in Boston. The five co-sponsoring agencies were: the Boston Public Schools, the Massachusetts Division of Youth Service, the City's Youth Activities Bureau, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston and Action for Boston Community Development, a new organization then in the midst of negotiations for a grant from The Ford Foundation.

The President's Committee staff reviewed the working paper and encouraged Boston to move forward, making it clear, however, that Boston in common with other cities needed a period of careful study and planning before it could launch a demonstration and testing of methods for coping with delinquency. The Committee staff suggested that Boston apply for a planning grant. Looking back, this interchange was helpful; it compelled the Boston group to give much more thought to what it proposed to do and especially to the research requirements of a delinquency prevention and control project.

In May, 1962 the five cooperating agencies applied for a planning grant. The application selected three districtd of Boston -- Charlestown, the South End and Roxbury -- as the target area for a delinquency prevention program. Descriptive sketches of these three districts are included at the end of the chapter.

The original application proposed that the project be set up under the control of a five-man committee of professional workers representing the sponsoring agencies. This proposition was related to the first of the project's problems. With one or possibly two exceptions, each of the cooperating agencies felt sincerely, and with some logic on its side, that it should be the one to receive the grant and plan the project.

The decision to vest control of the planning grant in such a committee was the only compromise acceptable to all the agencies. But it turned out to be an arrangement that was not acceptable to the President's Committee, which felt the compromise arrived at in Boston did not meet the requirement that there be a broadly based community effort, with responsibility exercised by a more representative group of citizens and institutions.

It was suggested that ABCD, which was forming a board of directors with this kind of representation and which would be able to coordinate delinquency planning with other programs financed by The Ford Foundation, would be the most effective vehicle. It would be inaccurate to say that this decision was welcomed by everyone.

Despite this competition over control, the problem of organization and auspices was resolved. The coalition of agencies stuck together and agreed to re-submit the application, this time designating ABCD as the responsible agency. This was done with the understanding that the other agencies on the original committee would form the core of a Program Advisory Committee and that each would be represented on the policy-making board of directors of ABCD. Each of the four cooperating agencies pledged itself, as it had in the original application, to assign a member of its staff to work full-time on the Project.

When it appeared that the application would be given favorable consideration in Washington, ABCD began to lay the groundwork for the research and evaluation phase of the project by consulting with three social scientists with substantial experience in delinquency research. During the summer and early fall, a preliminary statement of research guide-lines was prepared.

In October, 1962, The President's Committee awarded a planning grant to ABCD, a few weeks after The Ford Foundation announced its grant to the same organization. It would be impossible to describe the Boston Youth Opportunities Project without seeing it as a vital part of Action for Boston Community Development, for Boston was undertaking its planning for delinquency control as one aspect of a broad attack on the city's social problems, sise by side with its urban renewal program.

Early in 1960 Boston had begun to lay out its plans for the most comprehensive urban renewal program that any city in the United States had yet attempted. The goal was the physical improvment of housing and community facilities and commercial and industrial property, district by district throughout the city. There was, however, a strong conviction on the part of Mayor John F. Collins, his Development Administrator and a group of citizens that urban renewal would be incomplete -- indeed, ineffective -- if attention were not simultaneously focused on the social needs and problems of Boston.

From that deep concern about the needs and hopes of the city's people came the first steps that led to the organization of ABCD. The Mayor appointed a committee to draw up a program. The first financing came from two sources: $94,000 from the Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund, Inc., a Boston foundation, and $57,000 from United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, the area's health and welfare council. Preliminary surveys were made of the needs of youth, of older people, of the public health and other community problems.

Following a period of discussions with The Ford Foundation concerning Boston's needs, problems and opportunities, the foundation on September 9, 1962 made a grant of $1.9 million to ABCD based on these objectives:

1. To help design new programs in education, employment, social services and similar fields.
2. To supply partial financing for those programs, and

3. To assist public and private agencies to put them into action.

From the outset, ABCD was envisioned as an organization with a limited life span, designed not to replace existing agencies but to generate new approaches to Boston's social problems. It was agreed that ABCD would not be a service agency. Rather, it would provide the planning, research, financial and other assistance necessary for public and private organizations to carry out new programs.

The ABCD Board of Directors was organized as a microcosm of Boston. Its members, listed in Appendix A, reflect the economic, religious, racial and institutional interests of the community. The political leadership of the city, represented by the Mayor and several department heads, and the public and private health and welfare organizations on both the City and State levels were substantially represented on the Board.

Under an Executive Director, the staff was organized into three departments: District Operations, Research, and Program Development. Community Organization workers were to be the links to the residents and local organizations at the neighborhood level. The research unit was to collect and analyze information as a basis for planning and was to provide the means for evaluating programs when they were put into action. The program unit was to design programs in cooperation with other agencies. All three units were to be involved in the Boston Youth Opportunities Project.

It is important to understand that the Project was organized and developed at the same time as ABCD and within the framework of ABCD. The Project was able to draw on the considerable influence and status ABCD was acquiring in the community through its lay and professional leadership. In addition, the Project was able to relate its work to the full range of activities carried on by ABCD. Indeed, there has been no sharp dividing line between the Project and other ABCD activities.

During its early months, ABCD's activity was concentrated on the development of citizen participation in urban renewal planning. Community organization workers were assigned to the high-priority renewal districts to assist the residents to participate in the planning of renewal projects and to begin to develop guidelines for social planning.

The receipt of the grants from The Ford Foundation and the President's Committee turned ABCD's efforts toward the research, planning, and financing of programs. This emphasis was one of the factors that led to a reassessment of the earlier, heavy involvement in local community organization. From the outset the value of this activity had been difficult to measure. In one area of the city ABCD efforts seemed to be in competition with existing agencies which considered themselves responsible for community organization work. In other areas, ABCD staff were caught in the cross-fire between pro-renewal and anti-renewal partisans.

Community organization workers were withdrawn by ABCD from some parts of the city. The function of those who remained in Roxbury and Charlestown was re-defined with greater emphasis on working with local organizations and agencies on program planning, as described later in this proposal.

Soon after the President's Committee announced its planning grant to ABCD effective November 1, 1962, the Program Advisory Committee to the Boston Youth Opportunities Project was organized, adding to the original core the representatives of other public and private agencies concerned with youth. Appendix B lists the members of the Advisory Committee. It was agreed that the project staff would discuss the program with the Advisory Committee whose recommendations would then be presented to the Program Committee of the ABCD Board of Directors. Three individuals served on both committees. A list of the ABCD Program Committee is attached as Appendix C.

Finding competent staff was difficult. The four agencies that had committed themselves to assign staff members fulfilled their commitments by sending experienced people who became an integral part of the Project. The public schools assigned an elementary school principal to the Project. United Community Services employed an experienced worker from the correctional field and assigned her to the Project. The Massachusetts Division of Youth Service loaned its director of statistical research. The Mayor's Youth Activities Bureau provided a worker for the research aspects of the Project.

However, it was not until January, 1963, that ABCD was able to employ its Director of Research and the Program Director for the Project. Some of the program specialists in the fields of education, housing, social services, health, recreation and employment were brought on the staff as late as May and June.

One event which took place in January made a significant contribution to the launching of the Project. Nine executives and administrators from Boston agencies involved in the Project and ABCD went on an eight-day tour of other cities to observe programs in action in the fields of education, employment and social services. The group consisted of:

The Superintendent of the Archdiocesan Schools.

The Deputy Superintendent (now Superintendent) and an Assistant Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools,

The Director of the Massachusetts Youth Service
Division,

The Executive Director of the United South End
Settlements,

The Director of the Department of Special Projects
of United Community Services, who is Chairman
of the Youth Project's Program Advisory Committee,

The Director of the city's Youth Activities Bureau,
who is co-chairman of the Project's Program
Advisory Committee,

The Executive Director of ABCD,

The Boston Youth Opportunities Project Director.

The group spent a day at Mobilization for Youth in New York City and two days on other programs of interest in New York, then divided into three teams that observed school, housing and social service projects in Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit. The final days of the tour were spent observing programs in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The observations made by the group and the relationships established during the tour have been extremely valuable during the past year.

Operations of the Project

The origins of The Boston Youth Opportunities Project go back long before February, 1963 when the staff was finally assembled. The delineation of community problems and needs, the contribution of ideas and suggestions, the presentation of specific program recommendations - all these began two years ago when the formation of ABCD was first being discussed. In the two years since that time, contributions have been made to the Project from many sources. Only the major ones are noted here.

Citizen groups expressed their views of social problems, particularly with respect to youth, through local community organizations, city-wide action groups, and representatives on the ABCD Board of Directors. In Roxbury this process began in the Spring of 1961 when five community meetings were held for the express purpose of eliciting citizens' views, which were then summarized in a report entitled A Preliminary Exploration of Social Conditions and Needs in the Roxbury-North Dorchester GNRP.

Public and private agencies have contributed their ideas through their representatives on the Program Advisory

Committee, a number of ad hoc committees on youth employment and other issues, the ABCD Board and its committees, and by submitting specific program proposals to the Project.

The Project staff has contributed through its observations and contacts in the various districts of the city and through its recommendations growing out of the action-research framework of the Project.

Consultants and staff members of the President's Committee and other Federal agencies have made suggestions and recommendations.

The crystallization of ideas began to take place early in 1963 when the staff and the Program Advisory Committee got down to work. The activities of the Project in the months since then can be viewed as falling into four main operations, which are described in the following pages.

1. The first phase of planning, which included the design of two major programs, one in education and the other other in youth employment and training, both of which are now in the early stages of operation.

2. Continuous research to describe and analyze the delinquency problem in Boston and to devise the means for measuring the impact of the Project on delinquency.
3. Participation in efforts to strengthen public housing and public recreation in Boston and planning for basic studies in the fields of health, manpower training, and recreation. These latter studies will be parts of the proposed Community Renewal Program that the Boston Redevelopment Authority expects to launch in the near future.
4. Preparing the final set of program proposals presented in this document.

First Stage of Planning

In the early meetings with the Program Advisory Committee the Project staff presented working papers or guideline statements and members of the Committee submitted recommendations for programs that their agencies considered vital to a delinquency program. Both the staff's working papers and the Committee's program suggestions were refined and modified in the course of time and many of the programs presented in this proposal are the outgrowth of this process.

Early Planning with the Public Schools

The Boston Public Schools submitted to the Advisory Committee a list of proposals for educational programs and suggested that the Committee and members of the Project staff would be in a better position to consider these suggestions if they could first observe the schools in action. A series of visits to Boston public schools was arranged and proved to be valuable for the Committee and the staff.

Four of the original suggestsons were selected and Boston school personnel and Project staff proceeded to develop designs for programs in remedial and developmental reading, pre-school classes for culturally disadvantaged children, guidance counselors to be placed in a junior high school and in an elementary school for the first time in Boston, and a demonstration of intensive services by school adjustment counselors.

These programs were presented to The Ford Foundation and on October 31, 1963, funds were released by the Foundation to finance ABCD's first-year share of the programs matched by School Department appropriations voted the previous April.

Early in its development ABCD had established the principle that the agencies which would actually administer programs should share the financial responsibility at an increasing rate during the demonstration period. This was based on the premise that the administering agency would have assumed the major responsibility for the program by the end of the demonstration and would then be in a position to continue those parts of the program that proved to be effective. The formula that was developed as a guide to implement this policy was agreed upon with the public schools for the financing of the first four programs. During the first year of operation, ABCD would bear 75% of the program costs and the schools 25%; in the second year each would carry 50% of the cost; and in the third and last year of the demonstration ABCD would provide 25% of the funds and the schools 75%.

The first four educational programs, which are now getting under way, are an integral and important part of this Project and are therefore presented, together with the other eleven programs, in Chapter V.

Planning the Youth Training and Employment Program

In the Spring of 1963 an opportunity arose to move ahead with a youth training and employment program that would be part of the over-all Project but could be designed and set in motion before the end of the Project's year of planning.

The process began with a meeting of representatives of the U.S. Department of Labor, both from Washington and Boston, the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security and ABCD. The Director of the Division of Special Group Activities of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training was the spokesman for the group from Washington.

A month after this meeting, ABCD forwarded to the Labor Department a brief outline of the proposal which it expected to design, In the meantime, individual and group conferences with representatives of related public and private organizations were being initiated. Staff members of ABCD visited some of these agencies in order to gain first-hand knowledge of community services which could ultimately be woven into the project's recruitment, vocational counseling, training, and job placement. Included were visits to:

United South End Settlements
Norfolk House
Morgan Memorial
Jewish Vocational Service
Massachusetts Division of Employment Security (Headquarters)
State Employment Service (District Office)
Massachusetts Division of Apprentice Training
Massachusetts Division of Vocational Education
Boston School Department
U.S. Department of Labor (Bureau of Labor Statistics)
United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston

Visits were made to MDTA training sites in Boston and Waltham and to non-governmental prospective training organizations such as Raytheon, Polaroid and Children's Hospital Medical Center.

A technical advisory group of sixteen public and private agency representatives, divided into two teams, gave valuable guidance to ABCD staff preparing the proposal.

Two conferences were held early in the proceedings to share the plans with Governor Endicott Peabody and his staff. Boston's Mayor, himself a member of the ABCD Board of Directors, was kept informed of progress and manifesred his support, particularly in subsequently setting up a Commission on Youth Employment to give continuous attention to the problem.

From May through July, ABCD developed and refined the proposal, working with the local agencies that were to implement the program. These consisted of two settlement houses, two rehabilitation and counseling agencies, the State Division of Employment Security, and the City's Youth Activities Bureau.

Frequent consultations took place through visits, mail and telephone with the OMAT representative assigned to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime who had been given the responsibility for working with ABCD on the preparation of the proposal. After some final clarification of concerns expressed by the State Divisions of Vocational Education and Employment Security, a contract was signed between ABCD and the Department of Labor on September 12, 1963. The details of the program appear as part of the total Project in Chapter V.

During and after the intensive efforts that went into planning the school and youth training programs, the Project staff continued to prepare the groundwork for this final set of proposals. The process of interchange with the Program Advisory Committee and the Program Committee of the ABCD Board continued into the Fall of 1963.

Research Activities

The Research Department first assembled the basic tools for planning and measurement. Information on population characteristics of the target area was drawn from the 1960 census and maps were prepared showing the relationships among court districts, school districts and police division areas. Discussions were then held with the State Probation Commission, the State Youth Service Board, the Boston Police Department and the Boston School Department to arrange for use of their records.

The Project obtained a set of IBM cards from the Probation Commission which showed all court appearances of male youth in Boston for the years 1958-61. The information was analyzed by census tract, by area, by court, by offense, by age of offender and by previous record. This material is used in this proposal to describe the delinquency problem in Boston and to provide a basis for suggesting the nature and location of some of the program proposals.

In discussions with the Police Department it was found that data on police contacts with youth were being collected at several different points in the reporting system. The Research Department held a series of meetings with officials of the Police Department to discuss the need for a single, systematic procedure for collecting this information. The Police Department gave its full cooperation in the development of a special reporting form which is now being tested. When it is adopted, this form will be used by all the Juvenile Aid Officers in Boston. This change is expected to be useful to the Police Department as well as providing the Project with a flow of information necessary for measuring changes in rates of police contacts with youth.

The School Committee of Boston in June, 1963, voted to permit the Project to photograph individual school records in the target area for planning and measurement purposes. To date, all records in four junior high schools in the target area have been photographed and this information is being correlated with data from the Police Department, the Probation Commission and other sources.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that throughout the life of the Project, research and program development have been closely integrated activities. Together they have constituted the planning process. One expression of this integration was the decision to conduct an area youth survey in Roxbury, the community with the highest concentration of delinquency. This study was conducted in three parts: interviews with leisure-time agencies serving youth, interviews with churches concerning their services to youth, and interviews with parents.

In the planning of the school programs and the youth training and employment program, the Research Department developed preliminary plans for measuring the extent to which these two programs would achieve their objectives. A detailed design for the evaluative research of the public school programs is now being worked out; the measurement of impact with respect to the youth training program will require additional financial resources.

Project Activities in Public Recreation, Health, Public Housing, and School Planning

In addition to the operations and processes described above, the Project, as part of ABCD, has participated in other activities that should be reported here. Because these activities are still in the early stages of development they have not led to specific programs that form part of this proposal. Nevertheless, they are important aspects of the Project's operation.

(a) Public Recreation

From the beginning ABCD defined as one of its responsibilities the development of plans, in concert with other groups, for strengthening the parks and recreation program in Boston.

The Recreation Specialist on the ABCD staff served as technical consultant to the Boston Redevelopment Authority in planning recreation facilities as part of the urban renewal projects in Roxbury and the South End. He has met with interested citizens' groups in renewal areas to review and explain the proposed plans and with the Citizens for Better Boston Public Recreation to assist them with efforts to improve the operation of summer playgrounds. The Citizens group observed and evaluated activities at a number of playgrounds and the ABCD staff representative reviewed their reports and recommended corrective action.

A pilot program had been in operation for two years in a South End play area. The cost of the staff and supporting services was met by a local foundation. The

Mayor's Advisory Committee on Recreation requested ABCD to prepare an appraisal of the program and make recommendations of action beyond the date for termination of the demonstration. The report was prepared and the recommendation that the City Parks and Recreation Department assume responsibility for the operation was accepted and is now being implemented.

Prior to the organization of ABCD, another project had been undertaken in South Boston on the site of a recreation facility that had deteriorated. The project was to develop a recreation center to demonstrate:

1. Effective ways to plan and work with neighborhood groups.
2. Year-round programing to meet the recreational needs of various age and interest groups.
3. Sound use of land, facilites and staff, as a pattern for similar recreation areas in other parts of the city.

The project had proceeded with the joint participation of a local residents' group, The Gillette Company, and the Parks and Recreation Department. The South Boston

Citizens group had been pressing for an effective, revitalized program and had raised funds for this purpose. The Gillette Company invested $75,000 in the installation of certain play facilities. The City was to carry out rehabilitation of the field house and development of the program.

ABCD's community organization worker in South Boston had been actively engaged in this process. In the Spring of 1963, ABCD's Recreation Specialist submitted an overall program plan and a sketch of the interior renovations required for conversion of the field house into a year-round indoor facility. These were accepted by the Parks and Recreation Department and the Mayor approved the spending of $30,000 for carrying out the reconstruction. ABCD is working with the neighborhood association and the Parks and Recreation Department on the selection of qualified personnel to conduct a community-oriented program. ABCD's Recreation Specialist will observe the program and submit reports to appropriate officials and agencies.

ABCD has assisted the Mayor's Office in taking steps to resolve a number of specific public recreation problems throughout the city. These actions involved cooperative relationships with officials and staff of the Parks and Recreation Department, neighborhood groups, and private agencies represented in United Community Services.

A basic one-year study of public recreation in Boston has been designed as part of a Community Renewal Program being submitted at an early date to the U. S. Housing and Home Financing Agency by the Boston Redevelopment Authority. The purpose of the Community Renewal Program is to provide information useful to refining and implementing Boston's total development program. The proposed studies will include economic development, housing, public facilities requirements, historical conservation, social needs and programs.

The BRA has requested ABCD to assume responsibility on a contract basis for those parts of the CRP dealing with (1) recreation, (2) social needs and programs, and (3) health and related services.

The proposed study of recreation will cover both programs and facilities and will prepare a detailed set of recommendations for the development and operation of regional and local facilities within the city. This will be coordinated with urban renewal project plans, with the city's Capital Improvements Program, and with the recreation programs of public and private agencies. ABCD will conduct the study of administration and programing, while the Boston Redevelopment Authority will be responsible for the survey of physical facilities. In cooperation with the School Department, the Metropolitan District Commission, the Parks and Recreation Department, the Boston Housing Authority, the Boston Public Library, United Community Services, and voluntary social agencies and church-sponsored recreation programs, ABCD will:

> Prepare recommendations concerning the responsibilities of these departments and agencies;
>
> Review the administration, personnel standards and practices, in-service training, and maintenance of practices of the Boston Parks and Recreation Department.

> Determine what changes may be required in existing state and city legislation on recreation.

(b) Health

The purpose of a study of health and related services in Boston -- as part of the Community Renewal Program -- is to recommend a program which will begin to close the gap which exists between the districts with the poorest health records and those with the best health records.

The study will investigate methods of making more effective use of the strong medical resources of the city, particularly where rapid improvement is needed. This entails an analysis of current organization and consideration of reorganization of personal health services and the planning organizations concerned with new physical facilities; of legislative and administrative actions needed to effect desired changes; and of forces affecting appropriate use of services and facilities by the public.

The study would concentrate on potential demonstration projects in the following problem areas: (1) general health and medical services for sections of the city with a large proportion of low income indigent and medically indigent families with children; (2) a maternity care program designed to increase the proportion of women whose prenatal care begins early in pregnancy and continues through post-partum care; (3) medical services for adolescents and youth who are not readily reached for health supervision as members of family units; a health maintenance program for isolated adults, particularly the elderly; and (5) the coordination of specialized programs such as psychiatric services, services for handicapped children and adults, and control of certain communicable diseases with general and other special health and medical care service.

(c) Public Housing

The Boston Housing Authority in January, 1963, requested "the help of Action for Boston Community Development in the planning of a comprehensive program of health, education, social service, recreation and other community activities for families living in public housing developments and in surrounding neighborhoods."

A few weeks later a meeting was held of representatives of the U.S. Public Housing Administration, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Boston Housing Authority and ABCD. Both the Public Housing Administration through its Regional Director and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare through its Acting Regional Director expressed strong support for this study and planning proposal and indicated that they would do their utmost to expedite both the development of the plan and its implementation.

A Working Committee was appointed consisting of representatives of the Boston Housing Authority, United Community Services, the U.S. Public Housing Administration, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and ABCD, with the latter's Executive Director serving as chairman.

Simultaneously, the Boston Redevelopment Authority was developing plans for the "immediate upgrading of Columbia Point and for the long-run full development of the Point." It was the desire of all concerned that these two planning efforts be carefully coordinated.

It was recommended by the Working Committee and approved by the ABCD Board of Directors that ABCD, with the assistance and cooperation of United Community Services and the Boston Housing Authority, accept the responsibility for the social planning study as requested and undertake, as the initial phase in the development of such a plan, the steps described below.

The Working Committee was expanded to include a representative of the planning unit of BRA and was charged with the responsibility for developing the study.

A Policy Committee of eight persons -- two representatives each appointed by the Board of ABCD, UCS, and BHA and one each from PHA and HEW -- was established to assist the staff on an advisory basis throughout the study. The reports and recommendations will be submitted to ABCD, UCS and BHA for board-level action necessary for implementing the proposal.

It was decided that the first step in developing the over-all social planning study would be a proposal pertaining to Columbia Point Housing Development. It was intended that this first phase would provide a general format to be used in the study of all the major BHA housing developments. Studies of other housing developments will be modified on the basis of the unique features of the particular area of housing development under study. The study of the Columbia Point Housing Development has proceeded with these steps accomplished to date:

A library has been compiled by ABCD of studies and reports pertaining to community services in public housing and related matters. Descriptive data was assembled by UCS on community health and welfare facilities available to residents of Columbia Point Housing Development and the surrounding neighborhood. Data was compiled by ABCD concerning the population characteristics of the tenants, including age distributions, socio-economic characteristics, broken home data, delinquency data, etc. Extensive interviews were conducted with social agencies serving Columbia Point residents, and meetings were held with volunteer groups such as the Columbia Point Improvement Association, the Mothers' Club and Senior Citizens of Columbia Point.

These data were analyzed and an interview schedule was designed to survey Columbia Point tenants concerning their needs, attitudes and behavior. Included in the topics surveyed were:

Length of stay at Columbia Point and plans about moving or staying

Satisfaction with certain aspects of their apartment or building; such as storage space, and repairs.

Satisfaction with certain managment practices; such as, frequency of rent collections, cleaning of halls, handling of complaints, etc.

Attitudes about Columbia Point area and certain facilities; such as, shopping facilities, and parking space.

Satisfaction with safety conditions and police protection at Columbia Point

Information about neighborhing, visiting, family togetherness, privacy, etc.

Information about knowledge and recommendations of various services; such as, services for legal problems, marital difficulties, and emotional problems.

Information about consumer and money handling patterns of the residents

Information about possession and use of laundering equipment and facilities

Information and opinions about child rearing and disciplinary practices

Information about parents' involvement in and aspirations for children's education

Information about adults' education and employment and satisfaction therewith

Information about the use of and need for numerous recreational and leisure-time facilities; such as, recreation center, bookmobile, and adult education programs.

Information about knowledge of and participation in clubs and organizations

Information about religious affiliations and activities

A stratified probability sample of 345 residents of Columbia Point Housing Development was selected -- 115 aged residents, 115 intact families and 115 fatherless families.

Meetings with both the Working Committee and the Policy Committee helped to construct the interview schedule as well as develop and approve plans in general. In addition, a Housing Research Consultant from Syracuse University has assisted with the interview schedule, the over-all data analysis and the development of program recommendations. Two hundred and seventy residents (of the sample selected) were interviewed.

At this writing, the first preliminary report is being prepared for submission to the Working Committee and the Policy Committee, to be followed by subsequent reports based on further analysis of the data and on the framing of program recommendations.

(d) School Planning

ABCD has intitiated the planning of the educational program for the first new school to be built in Boston under urban renewal. The planning process, now getting under way, will involve a citizens' advisory committee and a technical committee.

The new elementary school, to be located on Humboldt Avenue in Roxbury, presents an opportunity for the Boston School Department to develop techniques and patterns for the planning of many new schools to be built in the next decade in Boston.

A planning procedure developed by ABCD has been approved by the Superintendent of Schools. These are the objectives:

1. To develop a curriculum which is educationally sound and appropriate for the youngsters who are to attend the new school.

2. To design a school building suitable to the total curriculum planned for the school.

3. To use the Humboldt School as a prototype for school planning that will strengthen school-community cooperation and understanding.

An Advisory Committee, assisted by a Technical Resource Committee, will study all aspects of elementary school curriculum; and, in the light of neighborhood educational needs, recommend a curriculum and general school building requirements to the Superintendent of Schools. The Advisory Committee will be concerned primarily with reviewing the present elementary program, assessing new curriculum developments, and recommending elements of a "new" curriculum and school building for the children in the neighborhood of the school.

The Superintendent of Schools will appoint the Advisory Committee of which five persons will be administrative and teaching personnel from the district where the school is to be located and six persons will represent the community.

Upon invitation, the Technical Resource Committee will discuss and review the Advisory Committee's findings and recommendations and will make its advice and expertise available for the Advisory Committee's consideration. Persons outstanding in the fields of elementary school program, planning and design will be on this committee.

The Technical Resource Committee will be composed of:

- The Chief Structural Engineer for the School Department.
- The Superintendent of Construction, Department of School Buildings.
- A representative of the Boston Redevelopment Authority.
- The Education Specialist of ABCD.
- An educational programing consultant, hired by ABCD.

ABCD's Education Specialist will be available for coordinating the over-all planning process.

If this planning procedure can be launched for the Humboldt Avenue School, valuable extensions become possible which capitalize on the curriculum study, program recommendations and improved school-community relations that hopefully will emerge from the pilot project.

It would be desirable to draw on the experience of the people who were engaged in the Humboldt project. To generalize their experience and increase the number of well-informed persons cooperating with the schools, persons serving on the Advisory Committee and the Technical Resource Committee could serve as consulting advisors to other committees formed to plan renovations, additions or new school in other parts of the city.

Comprehensive planning is another valuable extension of the pilot project. At two or three contiguous neighborhood schools slated for renovation, additions, or new construction in Roxbury, committees could be formed to study and plan cooperatively experimental, augmented curricula for each school. For example, it would be valuable to plan a continuing curriculum for both elementary and junior high school youngsters who will be feeding into the proposed Roosevelt Junior High School. Depending upon the location of other elementary and junior high schools and plans for their renovation, the Humboldt Avenue School could become the first step in a longer, more comprehensive planning process.

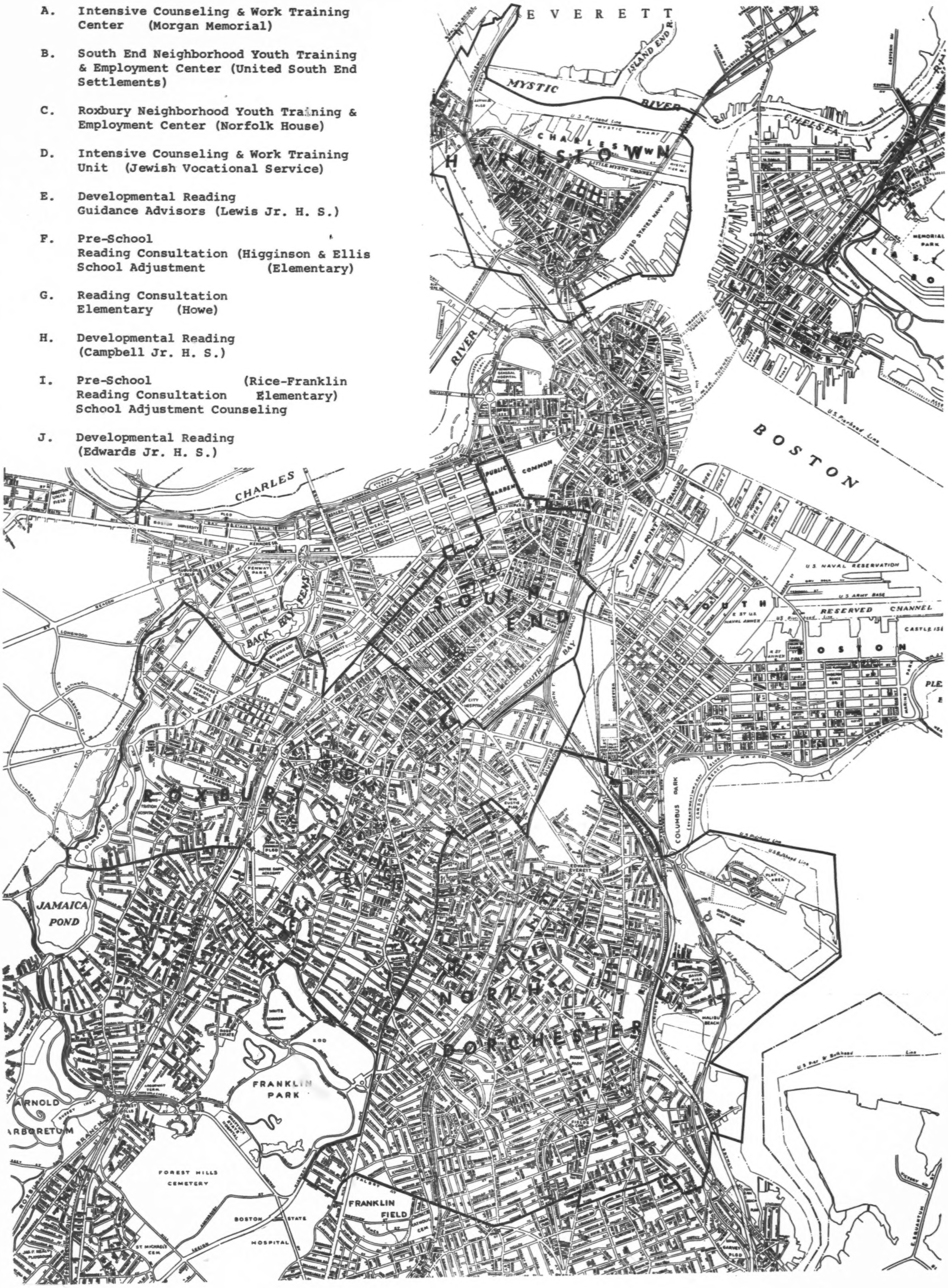
Descriptive Sketches of the Districts in The Project Study Area

The Study Area, outlined in black on the map of Boston on the following page, contains approximately one-third of the city's 700,000 people, according to the 1960 Census. The districts within the Study Area--Charlestown, the South End, Roxbury and North Dorchester--are similar in some respects but differ sharply in other ways. They have in common high delinquency rates and have, therefore, been selected as the area in which the Project will concentrate its efforts. The locations of programs now moving into operation are indicated on the map on the next page. Brief sketches of each district are presented below, followed by some comparisons and general observations; additional information on social services will be given in Chapter V.

Charlestown, which lies across the Charles River from the downtown section of Boston, had a population of 20,000 in 1960, 99% of whom are white and most of whom are of Irish extraction. Its hills over-

LOCATIONS OF PROJECTS

- A. Intensive Counseling & Work Training Center (Morgan Memorial)
- B. South End Neighborhood Youth Training & Employment Center (United South End Settlements)
- C. Roxbury Neighborhood Youth Training & Employment Center (Norfolk House)
- D. Intensive Counseling & Work Training Unit (Jewish Vocational Service)
- E. Developmental Reading Guidance Advisors (Lewis Jr. H. S.)
- F. Pre-School Reading Consultation School Adjustment (Higginson & Ellis Elementary)
- G. Reading Consultation Elementary (Howe)
- H. Developmental Reading (Campbell Jr. H. S.)
- I. Pre-School Reading Consultation School Adjustment Counseling (Rice-Franklin Elementary)
- J. Developmental Reading (Edwards Jr. H. S.)


EVERETT
ISLAND END R.
MYSTIC
RIVER
CHELSEA
CHARLESTOWN
U.S. Pierhead Line
UNITED STATES NAVY YARD
MEMORIAL PARK
EAST BOSTON
RIVER
BOSTON
CHARLES
PUBLIC GARDEN
COMMON
FENWAY PARK
BACK BAY FENS
SOUTH END
FORT POINT CHANNEL
U S NAVAL RESERVATION
U S ARMY BASE
RESERVED CHANNEL
SOUTH BOSTON
CASTLE ISL
COLUMBUS PARK
SOUTH BAY
ROXBURY
JAMAICA POND
NORTH DORCHESTER
ZOO
FRANKLIN PARK
ARNOLD ARBORETUM
FOREST HILLS CEMETERY
BOSTON STATE HOSPITAL
FRANKLIN FIELD
ST MICHAELS CEM

look the harbor and its flats are scarred by blighted housing, which accounts in part for the loss of almost 10,000 people between 1950 and 1960.

As one of the city's oldest residential neighborhoods Charlestown, as well as the South End and Roxbury, has been designated for a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan (GNRP) in the city's urban renewal program. It is for the most part a low-income area, althoug a large proportion of homes are owned by the occupants.

Since 1961, ABCD has had community organization staff working in Charlestown. Their main effort has been devoted to the development of an organization that has represented the citizens in urban renewal planning and in developing social plans for the district.

The South End, which abuts on the downtown section of Boston, has a population of some 35,000. Once an elegant residential area, for decades it has been the entry point for immigrant groups moving into and through the city. Today, its population represents a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds; and while there are many families, the South End has a high proportion of single, older people as well as Boston's Skid Row. Approximately one-third of its population is non-white, including a substantial Chinese community.

The South End is the primary rooming house area for low-income people in Boston; and, therefore, houses an atypical population. More than 80% of its people are 21 years of age or older, as compared with 65% for the city as a whole. It is the only large area of the city with fewer females. The number of females per 100 males was 78.8 in the South End and 108.3 for all of Boston.

For some years, the United South End Settlements has carried the major responsibility for community organization and planning in the South End, particularly with respect to physical and social service planning. The Project has cooperated in this and ABCD has provided funds for one worker on the community organization staff of USES.

Roxbury, with a population of 85,000, absorbed successive waves of Irish and Jewish immigrants in the early decades of this century and increasing numbers of Negroes in the last 25 years. It is the section of Boston with the heaviest concentration of Negroes, who comprise 43% of Roxbury's population.

The area continues to be a predominantly residential district, housing middle and low-income families. In 1960 its people had somewhat better incomes, were somewhat better educated and had somewhat less unemployment than the South End. But in each of these respects Roxbury fared poorly compared with the areas of Boston outside the Study Area.

North Dorchester, by comparison with its neighbor, Roxbury, is a higher income area with a lower proportion of non-whites and with better housing. Part of Dorchester is included in the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan area that embraces Roxbury. The movement of Negro families, which is being accelerated by the relocation process involved in the urban renewal projects in the South End and in the Washington Park section of Roxbury, tends to be into North Dorchester.

While it is anticipated that social problems will increase in the North Dorchester areas bordering on Roxbury in the coming years, the programs proposed by the Project at this time are concentrated in Charlestown, Roxbury and the South End. North Dorchester is not included in some of the analyses that follow.

Since early in 1961, ABCD has had community organization staff in Roxbury engaged in working with residents' groups and agencies serving the area. In recent months these workers have been heavily involved in the fact-finding, study and program planning phases of this Project.

It is important to see the patterns of social needs and problems within the Study Area and in relation to the city as a whole. The Study Area had a court appearance rate for juveniles more than double that of the rest of Boston--48.0 per 1,000 as compared with 21.0 per 1,000. This is defined as the average number of court appearances for boys 7 through 16 years of age for the period 1959-1961.

2

As can be seen in the table on the following page, approximately 40% of the males are 20 years of age or younger throughout the Study Area, except in the South End where only 20% of the males are 20 years of age or younger. Nevertheless, the South End has the highest rate of court appearances in the city. Court appearance rates are presented below in juxtaposition with rates for broken homes and residential mobility.

COMPARISON OF THE DISTRICTS BY COURT APPEARANCE RATE, RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY, AND BROKEN HOMES

Area	Court[1] Appearance Rate	Broken[2] Home	Residential[3] Mobility
South End	89.1	34	56
Roxbury	59.8	31	55
Charlestown	48.0	21	47
Study Area	48.0	25	52
North Dorchester	33.1	19	49
Boston	31.9	18	49
Non-Study Area	20.9	12	47

[1] Defined as the average number (1959-1961) of male court appearances per 1,000, 7 through 16-year males, 1960.

[2] Defined as the per cent of persons 18 years of age and under not living with both parents as of 1960 U.S. Census.

[3] Defined as the per cent of persons 5 years of age or older not living in the same house in 1960 as in 1955, as of 1960 U.S. Census.

SELECTED POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS--STUDY AREA AND BOSTON: 1960 CENSUS

	Charlestown	N.Dorchester	Roxbury	South End	Study Area	Boston
Total Population	(20,147)	(112,494)	(84,928)	(34,382)	(260,453)	(697,197)
% White	99.41	90.02	55.79	65.09	75.85	90.17
% Negro	.15	9.68	43.35	28.63	22.86	9.06
% Non-White	.59	9.98	44.20	34.91	24.15	9.83
Total Male Population	(9,882)	(53,079)	(38,591)	(19,225)	(124,022)	(334,707)
% 20 Years and Under	42.56	40.15	40.62	19.54	37.38	35.21
Total Males 13-18	(1,165)	(5,078)	(3,489)	(952)	(10,999)	(29,292)
% of Total Male 13-18	11.78	9.56	9.04	4.95	8.87	8.75
Total Males 15-19	(934)	(3,946)	(2,674)	(698)	(8,512)	(25,062)
% of Total Males 15-19	9.45	7.43	6.92	3.63	6.86	7.49
Total Persons 18 and Under	(7,276)	(38,645)	(29,025)	(6,605)	(83,735)	(201,172)
% Living with both Parents	79.31	81.37	69.12	66.23	74.91	82.63
Total Persons 5 Years or More	(17,883)	(99,422)	(74,984)	(32,172)	(232,259)	(631,796)
% Living in same House in 1960 as in 1955	52.78	51.11	44.70	44.39	47.90	50.93
% 25 Years or More-No High School	40.34	36.66	41.56	52.45	40.77	34.59
% 25 Years or More-4 Years High School or More	33.39	40.45	34.98	26.85	36.33	44.59
% Families $7,000. or More Income	29.24	33.13	23.87	14.54	27.56	34.65
% Married Women, Husband Present, Children under 6, in Labor Force	8.81	9.12	8.63	4.81	7.12	5.32
% Male Labor Force Unemployed	8.52	5.32	7.68	9.36	7.03	5.80
% Female Labor Force Unemployed	6.91	3.65	5.10	6.90	4.83	3.90
% Females 14+ in Labor Force	37.38	40.27	44.13	49.19	42.97	42.70
% Unrelated Individuals	10.46	6.22	11.69	43.03	14.22	15.18

Roxbury and the South End are remarkably similar to each other, but differ from Charlestown with respect to broken homes and residential mobility. The rates for broken homes correspond closely with the court appearance rates. In general, the higher the residental mobility, the higher the rate of appearances in court.

Education is measured in the 1960 Census by the per cent with no High School and the percent with four years of High School education or more. The South End has the highest proportion of poorly educated people, with Roxbury and Charlestown about equal, and North Dorchester showing the highest levels of education comparatively.

Economically, the South End has the lowest income, the highest rates for male unemployment (as of April, 1960), the highest percentage of females 14 or older in the labor force, and the lowest proportion of women with their husbands present and children under six, who are in the labor force.

The total population of the Study Area in 1960 was 260,453, 24.2% of whom were non-white. This represents somewhat over one-third (37%) of Boston's total population, but over 90% of Boston's non-white population. The 59,531 Negroes living in the Study Area constituted approximately 94% of the total Negro population of Boston and approximately 94% of the non-whites living in the Study Area.

During the ten years between the 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses, the Study Area lost 20% of its population, compared with a loss of 8% for the remainder of the city. In the Study Area, this change included a decrease of 33% in the white population and an increase of 60% in the non-white population.

Prefatory Note to Chapters II through VI

The Boston Youth Opportunities Project has developed its plans for an attack on delinquency in the form of an action-research project.

When efforts are made to deal with a social problem, either through action or through research, the results are different, but they are usually unsatisfactory. When the emphasis is on action alone, it is seldom possible to know (1) precisely what the project set out to achieve, (2) whether it achieved its objectives, and (3) what happened during the project that accounts for success or failure. An exclusively research approach seeks to gain knowledge, but does not have to be concerned with practical ways of applying it to the social problem.

The demonstration approach used in the project combines action and research and becomes "an experiment-in-action" with the purpose of pointing the way toward the most effective and efficient allocation of resources in an attack on the problem of delinquency. Its theme is that efforts to reduce or prevent delinquency should be firmly based on evidence as to what has been done, what has worked, how it has worked, and with whom it has worked.

In the following chapters this approach is developed by first stating the objectives of the Project in the light of an analysis of the problem of delinquency and the manifestation of that problem in Boston.

These objectives become the criteria by which the success or failure of the Project will ultimately be judged.

Having clarified its objectives, an action-research approach must then present the line of reasoning--or the rationale--by which it hopes to achieve its objectives. The rationale is built on key factors that are considered to be crucial, in this case, to an attack on the problem of delinquency. The rationale must explain why it is expected that changes in these key factors will "reduce delinquency."

The rationale suggests avenues or strategies for intervening in the delinquency problem in order to attain the Project's objectives. A series of programs is then proposed as means of pursuing these strategies.

Finally, an action-research approach involves two problems in measurement. Each program, while it is expected to contribute ultimately to a reduction in delinquency, has an immediate goal of its own; for example, improving academic performance in school. At the end of the Project, it must be determined whether each program accomplished its own purpose--did the youth exposed to the program perform better in school than those who were not exposed to this program. In addition, evaluation of the Project must determine to what extend the programs, individually and in combinations, contributed to reducing delinquency. To complete the example, the measurement phase of the Project must be able to document whether the youth who improved their school performance also were involved in fewer delinquent acts.

CHAPTER II

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

The Boston Youth Opportunities Project is charged with the responsibility of carrying out the intent of Public Law 87-274, which Congress enacted "to provide financial support to programs which might demonstrate effectiveness in the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency".[1]

This Project is concerned only with those acts, which, if the offender were an adult, would make him liable to apprehension, arrest and court action under the penal code of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. These are acts which affect the ways of life not only of the offender but of his associates, his victims, and the community. If he is apprehended, these acts bring the offender into the web of legal control, possibly including institutionalization. They involve the risk of a serious loss of human resources. They place an economic burden on the community. If the offender is apprehended and institutionalized, his original illegal behavior may be the beginning of a continuing pattern of criminal activity.

---

[1] Policy Guides to the Presentation of Proposals for Funding Under Public Law 87-274, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, September 5, 1963, p.1.

The Project is concerned with reducing the number of illegal criminal-type acts, rather than the number of different individuals who commit such acts.[1] This position has been adopted on the assumption that the community places a higher priority on decreasing the volume of law-violating behavior than the number of violators. Counting the number of illegal acts committed by youth poses difficult measurement problems, which are considered in detail in Chapter VI.

---

[1] Since an offender may commit more than one illegal act, there may be within a given period of time more violations than violators. It is therefore possible to reduce the number of illegal acts without reducing the number of violators. The Project will seek to determine--if it is successful in decreasing the number of illegal acts--whether or not there has also been a decrease in the number of violators.

Delinquency is defined in this Project as embracing only those acts which actually lead to involvement with the police and the courts. These consist of the following:

1. Recorded contacts with the police.
2. Recorded arrest or registration by the police.
3. Recorded appearance before a judge in connection with a law violation.
4. Commitment to the Youth Service Board.

The seriousness of illegal acts is also a concern of the Project, since these acts range from minor property offenses to the gravest of personal injuries. Consequently, the Project will measure both the volume and the seriousness of delinquency and youth crime.

The last section of this chapter presents an analysis of delinquency in Boston and deals primarily with the questions: (1) in what geographic areas of the city is delinquency most concentrated; and (2) what are the age and sex characteristics of the youth who account for the bulk of delinquency in the city. The conclusions of that analysis are that Roxbury, the South

End and Charlestown are the "high delinquency areas" of Boston and that court appearances involve primarily male youth in the 12 through 16 year age group.

Based on the considerations cited above and elaborated in the remainder of this chapter, the objective of the Boston Youth Opportunities Project is:

To reduce the volume and seriousness of criminal-type behavior on the part of male youth 12 through 16 years of age who reside in Roxbury, the South End and Charlestown, as reflected in the records of the principal law enforcement agencies--the police, the courts and the Youth Service Board.

The principal question for evaluation research in this Project can therefore be stated:

To what extent did changes occur in the frequency and type of recorded police contacts, arrests, court appearances and Youth Service Board commitments of male youth, 12 to 16, in the designated areas of Boston which could be reliably attributed to programs undertaken by the Project?

Measuring Youth Crime

Elementary textbooks on criminology discuss at length the inadequacy of "official" statistics as a measure of the "true" or real frequency of crime. The data from any of the official sources available inevitably represent selections from the total number of acts committed. This selection will never be random, but will be systematically biased by some or all of the following factors:

1. Failure of detection probably accounts for the majority of non-recorded events of a criminal type.
2. There is inconsistency in designating and describing criminal acts. The form in which an offense is recorded is subject to a variety of factors that may be completely independent of the behavior itself. Even the same offense may be categorized in one way for one purpose and another way for another purpose.

3. Statistics on crime are often scattered among geographically separate agencies and do not always find their way to a central data-gathering source. Those which do reach the records center are, again, a selection from the total number in existence.
4. A program may significantly reduce the number of criminal type-acts committed by its youth population, but these acts may be predominantly the kind that tend not to lead to official contact. The "success" of the project cannot be easily documented under these circumstances.

Despite these difficulties, the alternatives to dependence on such sources of information are scarce as well as unsatisfactory. The only fully satisfactory method for obtaining this information would require some device for recording every single act of every youth 12 to 16 in the designated areas throughout the life of the Project. No such method is ever likely to be available or desirable and any other method falls short of measuring the actual occurrences of criminal type behavior.

However, the purpose of the measurement process is not to record all events of a particular type but to provide an index of the volume and type of behavior under consideration. It is believed here that official data provide as solid a basis for such an index as can reasonably be devised at this time. In fact, officially recorded crime shows a better relation to actual crime frequency than might be expected in the face of these difficulties and biases. For example, findings from the Special Youth Project in Roxbury show excellent correspondence between data obtained through daily observation and information derived from court records. Detailed treatment of the methodological difficulties raised by the problems described above and of the methods that will be utilized to detect and minimize the effects of such problems will be presented in Chapter VI of this proposal.

The foregoing discussion has presented the reasoning behind the decision to adopt as the basic objective of the Boston Youth Opportunities Project the reduction of the volume and seriousness of criminal type behavior on the part of youth in Boston as reflected in the official records of the principal law enforcement agencies, the police, the courts and the Youth Service Board.

Even stated in this form, this objective is too vague and too broad for an action-research project. Further refinements of this objective will be made after the delinquency problem in Boston has been analyzed in the search for strategies for the most promising lines of attack.

The Volume of Official Contacts with Juveniles by Law Enforcement Officials

The years 1959 to 1961 have been chosen to describe the delinquency problem in Boston for several reasons: (1) these are the most recent years in which fully tabulated data are available from Boston's major law enforcement agencies dealing with youth; (2) they include the year of the most recent U.S. Census, 1960, and the years immediately before and after the census year; and (3) they are the years immediately following a major reorganization of the Boston Police Department which included the establishment of a special delinquency prevention unit, the Juvenile Aid Section.

As previously stated, the Boston Youth Opportunities Project will be concerned primarily with criminal-type law violating behavior. However, sorting out the data retrospectively by criminal-type and non-criminal type would have been an inordinately expensive task for a planning project. Therefore, combined data on all types of juvenile misconduct will be used in the following description of the delinquency problem in Boston. The Project will include procedures for such sorting during the demonstration period since the distinction involved is essential for measuring the impact of the Project.

Diring the years 1959-1961 there were, according to the official tabulations of the agencies involved, 12,096 police contacts with juveniles which did not result in arrests. These contacts are called "warnings" in official Boston Police Department terminology. For the same period there were 6,291 arrests of juveniles by the Police Department. The total number of police contacts during the period 1959-1961 was 18,387. Table I on the following page describes those official contacts by the sex of the individuals involved.

TABLE I

BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT WARNINGS[1] AND ARRESTS[2] OF JUVENILES, 1959-1961, BY SEX

	1959						1960					
	Warnings		Arrests		Total		Warnings		Arrests		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males	3977	86.2	1664	82.2	5641	85.0	3191	84.3	1732	78.4	4923	82.1
Females	638	13.8	361	17.8	991	15.0	597	15.7	478	21.6	1075	17.9
TOTAL	4615	100.0	2025	100.0	6640	100.0	3788	100.0	2210	100.0	5998	100.0

	1961						TOTALS: 1959-1961					
	Warnings		Arrests		Total		Warnings		Arrests		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males	3082	83.5	1676	81.5	4758	82.8	10,250	84.7	5072	80.6	15,322	83.3
Females	611	16.5	380	18.5	991	17.2	1,846	15.3	1219	19.4	3,065	16.7
TOTAL	3693	100.0	2056	100.0	5749	100.0	12,096	100.0	6291	100.0	18,387	100.0

---

[1] Obtained from the Boston Police Department Juvenile Aid Section Annual Reports 1959-1961

[2] Obtained from the Boston Police Department Annual Reports 1959-1961 Summary of Arrests by Age and Sex

As can be seen, official contacts with male juveniles outnumber those with female juveniles by about 4 to 1. Delinquency in Boston, as represented by official statistics, is a problem involving primarily males.

Official Contacts with Males by Age

Table II presents the distribution of court appearances for males in Boston for the years 1959 to 1961 by the age of the boy appearing in court.[1]

The two most striking features of these data are (1) the steady increase in the volume of court appearances as age increases and (2) the related fact that the great bulk of the cases occur in the 12 to 16 year group. For each year, approximately 90% of the males appearing in court were 12 through 16 years old.

The significance of this concentration of court appearances at the older age levels can be seen in

---

[1] Comparable data by age for police contacts with juveniles was not available.

TABLE II

MALE JUVENILE COURT APPEARANCES

1959 TO 1961 BY AGE

AGE	1959		1960		1961		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
7	4	0.2	3	0.2	4	0.2	11	0.2
8	12	0.7	12	0.8	7	0.4	31	0.6
9	38	2.2	26	1.7	26	1.6	90	1.9
10	47	2.8	33	2.2	50	3.0	130	2.7
11	88	5.2	77	5.0	75	4.5	240	4.9
12	118	6.9	140	9.1	104	6.2	362	7.3
13	156	9.2	184	12.0	201	12.0	541	11.0
14	259	15.2	246	16.0	297	17.8	802	16.4
15	408	24.1	354	23.1	381	22.8	1143	23.3
16	569	33.5	458	29.9	518	31.0	1545	31.5
17*	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	0.5	9	0.2
	1699	100.0	1533	100.0	1672	100.0	4904	100.0

* Nine 17 year old youths appeared in court in 1961 as juveniles for offenses committed when they were 16.

TABLE III

MALE JUVENILE COURT APPEARANCES

BOSTON 1959-1961

VOLUME AND RATE BY AGE

Age	1959		1960		1961		Total		Mean		Population 1960 Census	Rates Per 1000
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
7	4	0.2	3	0.2	4	0.2	11	0.2	3.7	0.2	5,662	0.6
8	12	0.7	12	0.8	7	0.4	31	0.6	10.3	0.6	5,379	1.9
9	38	2.2	26	1.7	26	1.6	90	1.9	30.0	1.9	5,170	5.8
10	47	2.8	33	2.2	50	3.0	130	2.6	43.3	2.6	5,153	8.4
11	88	5.2	77	5.0	75	4.5	240	4.9	80.0	4.9	5,270	15.2
12	118	6.9	140	9.1	104	6.2	362	7.4	120.7	7.4	5,320	22.7
13	156	9.2	184	12.0	201	12.0	541	11.0	180.3	11.0	5,522	32.6
14	259	15.2	246	16.0	297	17.8	802	16.4	267.3	16.4	4,370	61.2
15	408	24.1	354	23.1	381	22.8	1143	23.3	381.0	23.3	4,512	84.4
16	569	33.5	458	29.9	518	31.0	1545	31.5	515.0	31.5	4,821	106.8
17+	-	-	-	-	9	.5	9	0.2	3.0	0.2		
TOTAL	1699	100.0%	1533	100.0%	1672	100.0%	4904	100.0%	1634.6	100.0%	51,179	31.9

Note: 17 year olds above are those who were 16 when arrested but 17 when tried or eligible as juveniles.

striking form by examining the rates for each year-of-age from 7 through 16. Table III, which presents the information for Boston, describes how an over-all court appearances rate of 31.9 per 1,000 is distributed when rates are computed for eech year from age 7 through 16. This analysis shows that for the older age categories -- particularly ages 14, 15 and 16 -- the court appearance rates are considerably higher than for younger boys.

These concentrations of official contacts have a cumulative effect at the older age levels. This can be seen by following a group of boys for a three year period. The information in Table IV was compiled for Washington Park, a section of Roxbury. It shows the accumulated number of court appearances by "cohorts" for the years 1959 to 1961. The first cohort consists of those individuals who were 7 years old in 1959, 8 years old in 1960 and 9 years old in 1961. The next cohort consists of those individuals who were 8 years old in 1959, 9 years old in 1960 and 10 years old in 1961; etc. Admittedly, the assumption that these cohorts retain exactly the same

TABLE IV

COURT APPEARANCE RATES
BY THREE YEAR AGE COHORTS
MALES, WASHINGTON PARK, 1959--1961

Cohort[1] Age in 1959	1960	1961	Total Number[2] of Court Appearances 1959-1961	Total Number[3] in Age Cohort	Court Appearance Rate per 1,000
7	8	9	7	266	26.3
8	9	10	8	239	33.5
9	10	11	7	227	30.8
10	11	12	30	263	114.1
11	12	13	49	272	180.1
12	13	14	58	235	246.8
13	14	15	87	193	450.8
14	15	16	94	200	470.0
	TOTAL		340	1895	179.4

---

[1] The first cohort is defined as those boys who were 7 years old in 1959, 8 years old in 1960 and 9 years old in 1961; the second cohort as those boys who were 8 years old in 1959, 9 years old in 1960 and 10 years old in 1961, etc.

[2] Obtained from the Massachusetts Probation Commission.

[3] 1960 U. S. Census. Washington Park consists of census tracts: U-0002, U-0004, U-0005, U-0006A, U-0006B, V-0001.

TABLE V

INDIVIDUAL RATES, ONE OR MORE COURT APPEARANCES BY THREE YEAR AGE COHORTS MALES, WASHINGTON PARK, 1959-1961

Cohort[1] Age in			Total Number[2] of Different Individuals appearing in Court 1959-1961	Total Number[3] in Age Cohort	Court Appearance Rate per 1,000
1959	1960	1961			
7	8	9	5	266	18.8
8	9	10	5	239	20.9
9	10	11	6	227	26.4
10	11	12	23	263	87.4
11	12	13	32	272	117.6
12	13	14	40	235	170.2
13	14	15	52	193	269.4
14	15	16	62	200	310.0
	TOTAL		225	1895	118.7

[1] The first cohort is defined as those boys who were 7 years old in 1959, 8 years old in 1960 and 9 years old in 1961; the second cohort as those boys who were 8 years old in 1959, 9 years old in 1960 and 10 years old in 1961, etc.

[2] Obtained from the Massachusetts Probation Commission; each individual counted only once.

[3] 1960 U. S. Census. Washington Park consists of census tracts: U-0002, U-0004, U-0005, U-0006A, U-0006B, V-0001

individuals over the three-year period is unwarranted, particularly in an area with a high residential mobility rate such as Washington Park. But the table does reflect the accumulations of court appearances over three consecutive years.

The data show that those who were 13, 14 and 15 in 1959, 1960 and 1961 respectively had 41% as many court appearances as there were individuals in the age group. Over the full 10 year period -- 7 through 16 years of age -- the accumulated percentages would undoubtedly be much higher. Unfortunately the available Boston data did not allow such an analysis without great additional expense.

In the previous table, the analysis has been based on the number of court appearances without considering the possible duplication of individuals. In Table V each number refers to a different individual. Each individual in each "cohort" was counted only once over the three-year period independently of the number of court appearances he made. By comparing the tables, it can be seen that the 340 court appearances (Table IV) were made by 225 different individuals (Table V). Similarly, the 87 court appearances made by those who were 13, 14 and 15 in 1959, 1960 and 1961 respectively (Table IV) were made by 52 different individuals (Table V). At least one-fourth of the boys in the 13 through 15 year category appeared in court at least once during the three year period, some of them appearing as many as five times.

Admittedly, the effects of the losses and additions to the cohort during the periods are unknown and may be considerable. This type of information is definitely needed; the Boston Youth Opportunities Project's research design will provide such information.

The preceeding analyses, except for Table I, were based on court appearances. However, only about one-third of the official police contacts are processed through arrest and court appearance. If police contacts had been used for these analyses, the volume, concentrations and proportions of the population involved would have been even more startling and alarming. The problem of duplications of individuals within the data would also undoubtedly have been greater.

Comparisons on a name-by-name basis of individuals involved in the various stages of official contact would have been available in Boston for planning purposes only at great cost. This type of information is also vitally needed for planning, action and evaluation purposes. The research methodology of this Project also includes procedures for the systematic gathering and processing of this type of information.

The Geographic Distribution of Official Contacts with Male Juveniles

Just as delinquency is not randomly distributed by sex or by age, neither is it randomly distributed by area of residence. The Boston court appearance data for male juveniles by census tract for the years 1959 to 1961, details of which can be found in Appendix D, confirm this pattern of geographic concentrations.

The population and court appearance data for Boston's 156 census tracts have been analyzed. Three areas, described in terms of census tracts but generally conforming to traditional districts in Boston, emerged as areas of high delinquency rates -- the South End, Roxbury and Charlestown.

These three areas, plus a heavily populated area, North Dorchester, to the south and east of Roxbury, comprise the target area for the Project and will be referred to in this proposal as the Study Area. North Dorchester, although not currently one of Boston's high delinquency areas, has been included in the Study Area because the major residential shifts from the South End and Roxbury tend to be into North Dorchester.

Table VI presents the distribution of the census tracts of the sub-areas of the Project's Study Area by court appearance rates.

Table VII presents the volume, distribution and rates of male court appearances for Boston, the Study Area and sub-areas for the years 1959-1961.

The Study Area as a whole had a court appearance rate more than double that of the rest of Boston (48.0 per 1,000 as compared to 20.9 per 1,000). The Study Area differs markedly from the rest of the city with respect to other social conditions and problems.

The Study Area's 70 census tracts comprise 45% of

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS TRACTS BY AREA AND BY COURT APPEARANCE RATES PER 1000 MALES, 7 THROUGH 16 YEARS OF AGE, 1959-1961 AVERAGES, 1960 POPULATION, BOSTON

	Non-Study Area		Study Area		South End		Roxbury		Charlestown		North Dorchester and S1 and V4A	
Rate/1000	No. of Census Tracts	%	No. of Census Tracts	%	No. of Census Tracts	%	No. of Census Tracts	%	No. of Census Tracts	%	No. of Census Tracts	%
0- 19.9	39	45.3	11	15.9	1	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	40.0
20- 39.9	27	31.4	16	23.2	0	0.0	4	19.0	3	33.3	9	36.0
40- 59.9	10	11.6	15	21.7	1	7.1	8	38.1	4	44.5	2	8.0
60- 79.9	4	4.6	13	18.8	2	14.3	6	28.6	2	22.2	3	12.0
80- 99.9	1	1.2	7	10.2	3	21.4	3	14.3	0	0.0	1	4.0
100-119.9	1	1.2	2	2.9	3	21.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
120-139.9	3	3.5	1	1.5	2	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
140+	1	1.2	4	5.8	2	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	86	100.0	69*	100.0	14*	99.9	21	100.0	9	100.0	25	100.0

* One tract unclassifiable

TABLE VII

TOTAL MALE COURT APPEARANCES & AVERAGE RATE FOR BOSTON AND AREAS OF BOSTON, 1959-1961

	1959	%	1960	%	1961	%	Total 1959-1961	%	Mean 1959-1961	Male 7-16 1960	Mean Rate per 1,000
Charlestown	119	7.0	85	5.5	79	4.7	283	5.8	94.3	1,963	48.0
South End	121	7.1	143	9.3	189	11.3	453	9.2	151.0	1,694	89.1
Roxbury	447	26.3	390	25.4	420	25.1	1,257	25.6	419.0	7,001	59.8
North Dorchester and S1 and V4A	343	20.2	321	20.9	350	20.9	1,014	20.7	338.0	10,217	33.1
Study Area	1,030	60.6	939	61.2	1,038	62.1	3,007	61.3	1002.3	20,875	48.0
Non-Study Area	669	39.4	594	38.8	634	37.9	1,897	38.7	632.3	30,304	20.9
Boston	1,699	100.0%	1,533	100.0%	1,672	100.0%	4,904	100.0%	1634.6	51,179	31.9

the city's census tracts. These areas contain a disproportionate share of youth problems, socio-economic deprivation, instability and disorganization. In addition they are the areas in which the city's urban renewal program is concentrating its initial efforts.

In 1960 the Study Area had 20,875 males, 7 through 16 years of age, representing 41% of the 7-16 year old males in the city. This 41% of the population accounted for 61% of the 4,904 court appearances by males 16 years of age for the years 1959-1961.

Problems of unemployment, low income, low educational attainment, broken homes and dilapidated housing also tend to be concentrated within the Study Area. As of April, 1960, over 7% of the male labor force in the Study Area was umemployed as compared with less than 5% for the remainder of the city. 72.4% of the Study Area families earned less than $7,000; the figure for the non-study area was 61.2%. Of persons in the Study Area 25 years of age or older, 63.7% had not completed high school; nearly 50% of the remainder of the city's population 25 years of age or older had a high school education or better.

Whereas 88% of persons 18 years of age or younger outside of the Study Area lived with both parents, only 75% did so in the Study Area. Approximately 31.1% of all Study Area housing units were classified in 1960 as deteriorating or dilapidated compared to the city-wide figure of 20.9% and the non-study area figure of 15.0%.

These data show that many of Boston's social problems tend to be concentrated in the parts of Boston chosen for the Project's Study Area. It must be remembered that the data which contrasted the Study Area with the remainder of the City included data for North Dorchester as part of the Study Area. As was pointed out previously, North Dorchester wes included in the study area not because of its present characteristics and problems, but on the assumption that, if no steps are taken to counteract it, North Dorchester is likely to experience a rapid increase in social problems in the near future. When the North Dorchester data is subtracted from the Study Area data, the contrast is even more striking.

The U.S. Labor Department, in an analysis of the 1960 U.S. Census data for Boston, ranked all the census tracts in Boston on three variables: median family income; median school years completed; and the unemployment rate for males. The tracts were then classified by quartiles for each variable. Table VIII shows the percentages of the census tracts in the Study Area in each of the quartiles. North Dorchester has been excluded from the analyses.

It should also be noted that the South End, Roxbury and Charlestown differ considerably among themselves in terms of court appearance rates.

Of the three areas, the South End had the highest court appearance rate (89.1) for the years 1959-1961. Its total population in 1960 was 34,382, representing less than 5% of the city's total population. Its 1694 males, 7 through 16 years of age, represented 3.3% of the city's total for that age group. This same group accounted for over 9% of the total court appearances for the city during the period 1959 to 1961.

Roxbury had the second highest court appearance rate (59.8). Its total population in 1960 was 84,928, representing approximately 12% of the city's total

TABLE VIII

COMPARISON OF ROXBURY AND THE NON-STUDY AREA ON SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Area Roxbury %	 Non-Study Area %
Income of less than $7,000	76	61
25 years or over with no high school	42	31
25 years or more with high school education or better	35	49
Male labor force unemployed	8	5

population. Its 7,001 males, 7 through 16 years of age, represented less than 14% of the city's total for that age group. This same group accounted for over 25% of the total court appearances for the city during the period.

Charlestown had the lowest court appearance rate (48.0) of the three sub-areas of the Project's Study Area. Its total population in 1960 was 20,147, representing about 3% of the city's total population. Its 1963 males, 7 through 16 years of age, represented less than 4% of the city's total for that age group. This same group accounted for nearly 6% of the total court appearances for the city during the period.

Refinement of the Project's Objectives Based on the Analysis of the Problem

As the previous analyses show, the delinquency problem in Boston, as measured by official contacts with law enforcement agencies (and the courts in particular), involves primarily males 12 through 16 years of age who tend to be concentrated residentially in three districts of the city -- the South End, Roxbury and Charlestown.

Approximately 80% of all the official contacts involve males. Approximately 90% of those contacts occur when the boys are 12 through 16 years of age, and over 40% of the court appearances by male juveniles are made by boys living in areas with less than 20% of the city's male population 7 through 16 years of age. These same areas tend also to be the areas of concentration for most of the city's other social problems. This association of juvenile delinquency with other social problems is one of social science's findings of long-standing. It is by no means new nor unique to Boston. But its reappearance with each set of data serves as a constant reminder of the complex nature of the delinquency problem and of the tremendously difficult task which confronts any effort to deal with it.

According to the approach developed in this proposal, the combination of data, analysis and theoretical consideration suggests strategies or avenues of attack on a social problem. Within an action-research framework these strategies suggest directions both for attempting to solve the problem and for knowing whether or not the attempt has been successful. The conclusion that the problem of delinquency in Boston primarily involves 12 through 16 year-old males living in certain parts of the city imposes certain restrictions on both program and research design. In fact, they shape the very objectives of such an attack and hence the criteria by which the success of such an attempt can be judged.

These considerations now make possible a final statement of the Project's objectives as the reduction of the volume and seriousness of criminal-type behavior on the part of male youth from 12 through 16 years of age who reside in the South End, Roxbury or Charlestown as reflected in the official records of the principal law enforcement agencies -- the police, the courts and the Youth Service Board.

Distinction Among Target, Measurement and Program Populations

This refinement of the objectives makes it necessary to distinguish among three groups or populations involved in the Project.

1. The population which the Project will seek to affect by reducing the number of illegal acts they commit. This is referred to as the target population.
2. The population whose changes in behavior will be measured to determine the success or failure of the Project. This is called the measurement population.
3. The population the Project will act upon directly with the expectation that the programs will have the desired effect. This is referred to as the program population.

The target population consists of all males who will be 12 and/or 13 and/or 14 and/or 15 and/or 16 years of age and who reside in the Project's Study Area at any time during the period of operation of the Project.

The measurement population will consist of individuals selected from the target population, identified by name, address and other characteristics. The procedures for selecting and maintaining this "cohort" of individuals will be described in Chapter VI.

The program population will consist of all those persons, including but not restricted to the target population, through whom the Project hopes to have an impact on the target population. The program population may include girls, parents, agency personnel, etc. Members of the program population need not reside in the target areas nor, for that matter, even in Boston.

The definitions of the target and measurement populations exert only one restriction on who may be included in the program population. There must be reason to believe that exposure to a program will reduce law violating behavior of one or more members of the target population.

A case could be made, for example, for designing programs which would directly involve only girls. Such a program would be justified if theoretical considerations suggested that such a program should have a desireable effect on the law-violating behavior rates of 12 through 16 year old males residing in the Study Area. Similar arguments apply to fathers, mothers, and others.

On the other hand, this interpretation in no way rules out working directly with 12 through 16 year old males. Whether a project works directly or indirectly with male youth is not determined by the definitions of the various populations but by a general line of reasoning or rationale. This Project's rationale is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE RATIONALE

The elements of an action-research program, outlined at the end of Chapter I, consisted of (1) a statement of objectives, against which the success or failure of the project will be measured, (2) a rationale which selects the key factors in a social problem that presumably can be manipulated to bring about the desired changes, (3) strategies which emerge from the rationale as the avenues for intervening in the problem, (4) the specific programs designed to implement the strategies, and (5) the means for measuring the effectiveness of the programs and the extent to which the Project achieved its main objectives. In this scheme, the rationale, which is presented in this chapter, must locate the factors in the problem that are assumed to be important and susceptible to change in an attack on delinquency and it must set forth why changes in these factors can be expected to reduce delinquency.

Individuals are expected to behave in certain ways that the general society considers appropriate to the individual's age, sex, occupation and other characteristics. The society also expects individuals not to behave in certain ways. Indeed the orderly functioning of a society rests on these behavioral norms. For example, the traffic policeman and the motorist must know and act on mutual expectations; if they do not, the traffic system breaks down. Similarly, the lawyer and his client, the doctor and the patient, must know what to expect of each other. The behavior expected of each constitutes his role.

What is expected of an individual also varies with the particular circumstances of setting in which he happens to be. The same boy behaves differently in school, at home, at church, or on the ballfield with his friends. But certain behavior is expected of the individual regardless of the circumstances. A teenage boy is expected not to make an unprovoked attack on an older person, and he is expected to conform to this norm regardless of the circumstances of the moment.

It is as vital for an individual to know what he can expect of other people as it is for him to know what others expect of him. It is important, for example, for a boy to comprehend what fathers are supposed to do in our society. This is true for three reasons. First, the boy will perform his own role more appropriately if he knows what he has a right to expect his father to do for, with and about him, and if the father in fact fulfills those expectations. The adequacy of the father's actual performance of the father role will influence the adequacy of the boy's own present and future role performance. Second, the boy is now learning the role of father which he will, in most cases, be performing in the future. Third, to the extent to which the father does not conform to general expectations of a father, the system of role expectations is weakened for the son.

But it is also essential for a person to know how other roles are performed even when the individual will himself never perform that role. To continue the analogy, a boy will perform his own role more appropriately if he knows what he has a right to expect his mother to do for, with and about him, and if the mother in fact fulfills these expectations. He will also be better prepared later to enter into marriage and parenthood if he is clear on what is appropriate behavior for wives and mothers.

In reality, this system of mutually understood and accepted rules of behavior does not function perfectly. Few societies can get even a major portion of their members to internalize all or even most of its rules. It also appears that society has wide variations in its success with different segments of its membership. This Project, in fact, is concerned with a major imperfection in the operation of the system: the failure or inability of considerable numbers of youth to conform to the behavior that society has defined as law-abiding.

It becomes important, then, to inquire into the processes by which individuals learn and then behave according to the rules of society. The line of inquiry may suggest clues as to how and why the system does not function adequately in the case of law-violating youth.

The subtle processes by which people learn about and internalize the norms of society are not fully understood by the social sciences. However, there is some agreement on elements that are essential in the process.

1. The individual learns in a cognitive sense what to expect of other people.
2. He learns, cognitively, what others expect of him.
3. He learns what rewards or punishments he can expect for obeying or breaking the rules.
4. He develops skills that are necessary to perform his role.
5. He learns a general pattern of conformity, that is, to follow rules in general.
6. He develops an inner need to perform as expected--to conform to the rules on his own, without outside pressure or control.

These assumptions and concepts have a direct bearing on the main concern of this project, for the behavior of children and youth is an outcome of the role performance world in which they have been immersed. For a child that world consists primarily of his home, his school and some aspects of his neighborhood.

It is assumed here that youth, including those in low-income and culturally-deprived areas, generally know what behavior is prohibited. The school vandal runs away, for instance, after he throws a rock through the window. The joy-rider abandons the stolen car after his escapade. They have learned that these acts are not acceptable to the agents of social control in the community and they also know the consequences for non-conformity, that is, the punishments. These aspects of a middle-class system of social control are widely diffused throughout society.

Youth, and particularly those in low-income and socially-deprived areas, are much less clear on what is expected of them. This may be accounted for, in large part, because the role expectations for the adolescent in our society are not clear in the minds of the adults. Moreover, the "rules" for adolescents are changing with technological and cultural changes in society. What is more significant, however, is that many lower class youth, especially in disrupted and unstable families, are exposed to role models and to values that are distinctly different from those of the middle class.

Many adults in these families behave in ways that are quite different from prevailing middle class standards. Fathers may be missing from the family. If they are with the family, they may be unemployed or working sporadically. Little value is placed on education as a stepping stone to better jobs or greater personal satisfaction. Youth from these families come into contact with agents of community institutions who are charged by the rest of the society with demanding and enforcing middle class values. The youth who have not learned or incorporated these ways are confused and often repelled by the demands of the middle class-oriented agents of social control.

It may also be significant that youth view these agents of control -- teachers, police and others -- primarily as prohibiting certain behavior on the part of youth. There is little emphasis on what it is they can expect of the control agents. They may not see clearly what the positive aspects of the agents' role are, what the teacher or policeman is obligated to do for the youth to protect and help them. Not only do these youth lack a clear definition of the specific content of the role of others (fathers, mothers, teachers et al.), but they do not have a clear notion of role performance in general and of the mutual expectations that must be part of the operation of a school, an office or a factory, or a city.

It is also assumed here that in deprived areas many youth and their parents lack the skills necessary to perform their roles, even if they were clear on the role expectations. Perhaps the most obvious example is the difficulty many lower class youth have in acquiring the skills required in the school system. By the same token, a father's lack of job skills may seriously damage his ability to perform the role of economic provider for his family.

Nor do rewards and punishments, as means of enforcing conformity, have the same meaning to all people. Middle class assumptions as to which rewards and punishments will elicit appropriate behavior run afoul when confronted by lower-class culture. Our schools, police and other major institutions in our social system operate on the assumption that certain experiences are rewarding and others are punishing.

An "A" on the report card, praise from the teacher, or a pat on the head from the policeman on the beat are not necessarily or inherently rewarding to a child. The meaning of these acts derives from the previous experiences to which the individual has been exposed. For some individuals, on the other hand, a warning from the police or a trip to the principal's office are not likely to be punishing. Indeed, in some extreme cases of conflict between the norms of an individual and the norms of society, what the system considers a reward can be perceived by the individual as a punishment, and vice versa. The trip to the principal's office, which may be quite punishing to the middle class boy, may actually raise the status of a lower class boy in his own eyes and in the eyes of his friends.

When punishments are delivered repeatedly and in considerable volume without producing the desired effect, the social control agents become discouraged. As their sense of futility grows, they become more and more lax about performing their own roles properly. Under these circumstances, even when the rewards and punishments may still have some meaning for the recipient, they are used less and less to elicit the desired behavior.

Thsee considerations suggest that for a social control system to operate effectively, the system's enforcers must have control over experiences that will be perceived as rewards and punishments by those whose behavior is being controlled. When agents of the imposing system do not control the subtle, long-term processes of socialization during the individual's early years, they will be called upon to deal with individuals who very likely have developed norms, values and perceptions of rewards and punishments that are distinctly at odds with those of the system. In order to close this gap and find common ground with such individuals, experiences must be provided which will be perceived as rewards and punishments by those individuals.

An additional assumption being advanced here is that efforts to use rewards promise more by way of strategy for action than attempts to utilize punishments. Punishments tend to have a segmented effect that bears narrowly on the prohibited behavior, without substantial carry-over to other aspects of the individual's behavior. Punishments, in short, being directed toward unacceptable behavior, have limited value in teaching what kind of behavior is expected.

Strategically, rewards should be chosen that have cumulative properties. Conferring status and prestige, for example, have cumulative effects; they do not tend to be as limited over a period of time as punishments, and they tend to be more pervasive with respect to their effect on the individual's total role performance.

This rationale approaches the matter of conformity and deviance against the background of the concepts and assumptions explored above. Traditional analyses of law-violating or deviant behavior tend to ask, "Why does the individual deviate?" The emphasis is on explaining why the individual violates legal or social norms. One version of this position assumes that the deviate has a need to deviate, that his major or exclusive gratification comes from the fact that his behavior violates some established code. Another view is that what appears to be deviation is actually conformity to a different set of norms, which are often in conflict with the prevailing code. The position taken here is to approach the problem by asking, "Why doesn't the individual conform?"

It is ofetn claimed that the socially and economically disadvantaged segment of our population receives excessive amounts of punishment. Why, then, does punishment apparently fail so often to obtain the desired conformity to the legal code? According to the assumption developed here, punishment will not work unless it has meaning as punishment. For example, arrest, or imprisonment, are disgraceful experiencesonly if it is perceived that way by the individual. Within another perceptual and social context, arrest or imprisonment may confer prestige.

Lack of involvement in the reward and punishment system diminishes both incentives and restrictions and leaves the individual freer to commit acts that may violate social or legal prohibitions. It is assumed here that disadvantaged perople desire the material and non-material rewards of the system. However, they look upon most of these rewards as unobtainable for them through normal, legitimate means. Since they have little stake in the reward-punishment system, there are no compelling pressures which prevent their meeting their needs in ways that society considers illegitimate. One of the major strategies to be employed in this program is based on the assumption that disadvantaged youth and adults will respond with a greater measure of conformity to society's expectations when rewards which have meaning for them are made accessible to them. No assumption of a "need to deviate" is required by this approach. It is assumed instead that the incentives or pressures to conform are out-weighed by the desire to commit an act for the intrinsic gratification of the act itself. For example, it is the desire to drive or ride in a car, rather than a compulsion to break the law against stealing, that may account for most of the car thefts by juveniles.

It is acknowledged, nevertheless, that in a small proportion of law-violating acts committed by disadvantaged people, the anticipated gratification may derive largely or entirely from the mere fact that the act is prohibited. Within the framework of this delinquency prevention program, the mental and emotional pathology of these individuals is not a target for change. Other categories of individuals to which this proposal also does not address itself include: the severely mentally retarded, the psychotic, the homosexual, and the narcotic addict.

A basic assumption is that the position developed here does deal with the bulk of delinquent behavior and although there undoubtedly are types of problems and pathology (as listed above) which are not amenable to the approach used in this proposal, individuals manifesting these problems and pathology constitute in Boston a small proportion of the total population of delinquents.

One final assumption underlies this rationale: that appropriate role performance, as a product of a developmental process, pervades the individual's pattern of behavior. The individual's total behavior is conceived of as a "bundle" of role performances -- for example, he is simultaneously a son, a student, a brother, a resident of his neighborhood. The extent of his conformity in one of these role performances is likely to carry over to the others. Behavior vis-a-vis the law is only one aspect of an individual's conformity with society's expectations. Lack of conformity with legal requirements is, in this view, simply one expression of the divergence between the individual's internalized expectations and those imposed by the social control system. Correlations that have been found between truancy, for example, and auto theft represent two manifestations of the same condition -- insufficient involvement in the generally accepted role performance and sanction system.

The central theme of this rationale, then, is that when an individual's expectations, based on his experience, are congruent with the expectations of the control system, the result will be conforming behavior achieved with little stress or strain. When, however, the individual's experiences have produced a set of values and expectations that diverge sharply from those of the system -- as when a lower class child enters the middle class-oriented school -- a destructive cycle of mutual misunderstanding and inappropriate expectations is set in motion.

There appear to be three avenues of repair:

1. Intervene in the experiences and role-learning of the individual to bring his expectations closer to those of the control system;
2. Intervene in the control system to modify its expectations and/or to change the assumptions it makes about what external controls will be effective;
3. Intervene in both to bring about a better "fit" between the individual and the control system.

The key factors that seem to lend themselves to intervention and change are presented below. These are, in the action-research scheme, the strategies for intervention in the problem and they form the foundation for the programs that are described in Chapter V.

Factors That Apply to Those Who Perform Roles That Impinge on Youth

1. Clarifying their knowledge of their own role requirements.
2. Improving their skills in performing their roles.
3. Assisting them to perform their roles conveniently in order to serve as desirable models.
4. Making their use of rewards for conforming behavior more meaningful to youth.

Factors That Apply Directly to Youth

1. Clarifying their knowledge of the role requirements of others and of the role system in general.
2. Improving their understanding of their own role requirements.
3. Improving the skills needed to perform their roles.
4. Eliciting a broad range of generally-expected performance.

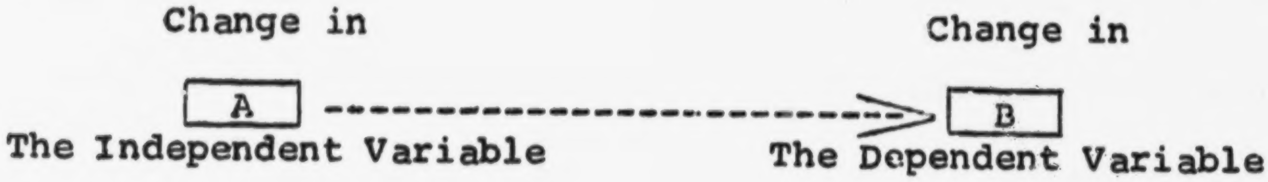
CHAPTER IV

THE ACTION-RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

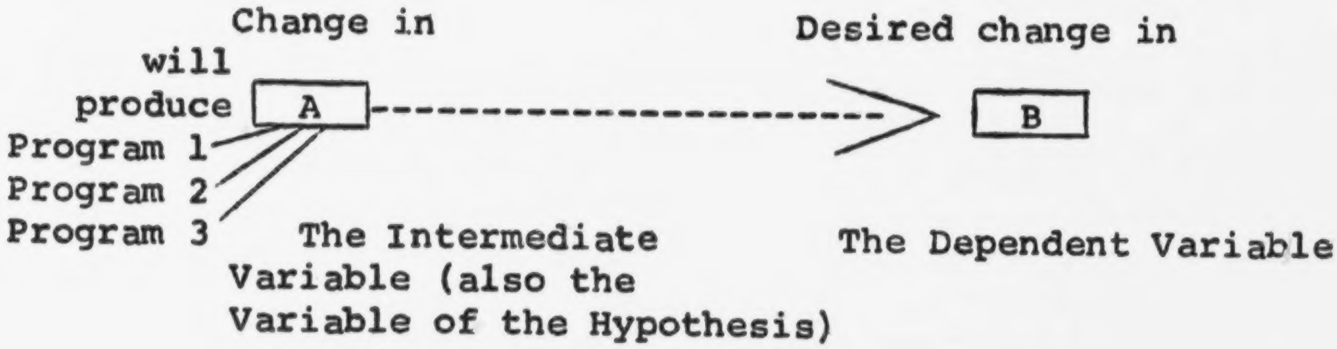
The last chapter presented concepts which have been adopted by this Project and the major strategies for intervening in the delinquency problem. Before describing the programs that are designed to produce the desired outcome, it is important to understand the logical, formal structure of this Project as an action-research demonstration. It is also important to deal with certain policy issues involved.

This Project's rationale consists of a set of assertions that a certain set of variables is significantly related to the delinquency problem. The hypothesis, derived from the rationale, asserts that changes produced in one set of variables (role performance and skills of youth and others of significance to them) will produce the desired changes in the variable the project is seeking to affect (law violating behavior). In traditional scientific terminology the first variable is called the

Independent Variable and the latter, the desired outcome, is the Dependent Variable. The form of the hypothesis is shown in the following diagram:


Change in
A
The Independent Variable
Change in
B
The Dependent Variable

The production of these changes in the Independent Variable depends upon the selection and implementation of strategies and programs. Thus the independent variable of the hypothesis becomes the dependent variable in a new set or relationships. For this reason this variable will be referred to as the Intermediate Variable, as shown in the diagram:


Change in
will
produce
A
Program 1
Program 2
Program 3
The Intermediate Variable (also the Variable of the Hypothesis)
Desired change in
B
The Dependent Variable

In substantive terms, the Project will seek to implement programs that will have an effect on the role system of youths in the target population and to demonstrate that these changes in the role system of youths will result in a reduction of delinquent acts. There is, of course, an interplay between the programs, the Intermediate Variable and the action world. Unlike exclusively research programs, the realities of the action situation are taken into account in developing the rationale, and unlike exclusively action programs, the researchable theoretical framework and the researchability of the program are taken into account in developing programs. In brief, the action-research framework represents a purposeful compromise between forces seeking to "do" and those seeking to "understand".

It is important to note that the rationale does not contain specific directives as to how the desired changes in the Intermediate Variable can be produced. It simply asserts that if programs that affect the role systems of youth are implemented, then the consequences specified by the rationale will take place. By analogy, a psychiatric experiment may rest on the hypothesis that changes in a child's emotional status will reduce acts of bed-wetting. The rationale in this case must establish the theoretical connections between the emotional status and acts of bed-wetting, but does not specify the ways of changing the child's emotional status.

The term strategies is used here to refer to the alternative channels or ways, suggested by the rationale, through which changes in the Independent Variable of the hypothesis (properties of the role system) may be effected. To continue the psychiatric analogy, one approach might be psychotherapy with the mother; another might be group therapy with the child; a third might be putting the child in a different class at school; a fourth buying him a pet. Although the strategies may be suggested or at least limited by the rationale, the rationale does not prescribe them. There may be any number of programs that will produce the desired change in the independent variable of the hypothesis.

The Project is therefore concerned with producing one set of changes which it hypothesizes will lead to a second set of changes. To measure the two sets of changes and the relationship between them, a carefully developed research operation is required. For example, a tutoring program will have its own objectives in terms of improved academic achievement. If improved academic achievement is assumed to be related to the desired change in the Intermediate Variable, then the tutoring program will also be expected, according to the hypothesis, to play a part in accomplishing the desired outcome of the project.

By the end of the demonstration period, the research should be able to answer the following questions with respect to each program in the Progect:

1. Who were exposed to the programs (by name, address, age, sex, school performance and other characteristics)?
2. What procedures and methods were used in the programs? To what extent were different procedures used with different individuals? To what extent were the same procedures applied in differing amounts to different individuals?

3. Did those who were exposed to the programs change in the direction called for by the objectives of the programs?
4. Can those changes, if they did in fact occur, be attributed to the programs?

In addition, research will be concerned with:

5. The extent to which the production of desired changes by each specific program and by combinations of programs was related to desired changes in the project's dependent variable.

To answer the first question, detailed information will be obtained and kept up to date for all individuals exposed to each program, with careful records of the extent of their participation or exposure. If a program establishes specific criteria for those who are to participate in it, the research should report the extent to which the participants actually met the criteria. Basic information about the characteristics of individuals exposed to the programs is essential as a basis for:

a. Selecting comparison groups -- that is, comparable populations not exposed to the programs -- in order to determine whether changes can be attributed to the programs.

b. Determining whether different results are obtained for different types of youth. If a program is effective at all, it may not be equally effective with all types.

c. Determining whether the effects produced are related to the amount of exposure. Therefore information is needed about each individual's degree of participation.

To answer the second question concerning procedures, detailed information will be kept up to date on the procedures actually used in conducting the programs. If a program is successful, this information will be needed to repeat the procedures in a continued or expanded program. Moreover, a detailed record of how the program was conducted will almost certainly be more specific and detailed than the design. If a program is unsuccessful, it may be due to the fact that the original design was not carried out. Rather than reject a potentially useful program, this type of research can be used to determine whether the original design was implemented.

As a step toward answering the third question as to whether those exposed to the programs changed in the desired direction, each program must specify in measurable terms what it is trying to achieve. Procedures will be set up for each program to measure how much, if any, change occurred. If no significant changes have occurred or if they have not occurred in a significant enough proportion of the individuals exposed to the program, the program will have failed to achieve the specific objectives set for it.

The fourth question -- whether observed changes can be attributed to the programs -- can only be satisfactorily answered by using comparison groups. These are groups of individuals as similar as possible to the exposed group. The comparison groups will be observed to see whether they also manifest changes in the desired direction. If that turns out to be the case, the changes that took place cannot be attributed to the impact of the programs.

In short, a research design will be carried out to provide an estimate of the extent to which the desired changes that occurred would have occurred anyway, without the programs.

The fifth question concerned the extent to which the production of desired changes by each specific program or combinations of programs was related to desired changes in the project's dependent variable. This will require a carefully developed methodology. The methodology described in detail in Chapter VI will use a defined cohort of individuals and a prediction instrument (with the project's dependent variable as the prediction criterion) as its central methodological devices.

In the light of the foregoing, there are four possible outcomes of an action-research project. Each has different implications for subsequent action.

1. One or more programs produced the desired change in the Intermediate Variable and these in fact did lead to the desired change in the Dependent Variable. This would be a successful

project and one in which the basic hypothesis can at least be tentatively accepted. Assuming replication, the procedures used could be adopted on a broad scale, with further experimentation to find still more efficient ways of intervening.

2. The programs that were tried led to the desired changes in the Intermediate Variable but did not produce the expected change in the Dependent Variable. This would be an unsuccessful project in which the hypothesis would be tentatively rejected. The basic hypothesis would require re-examination and one or more alternative rationales would have to be developed.

3. All programs used failed to produce the desired changes in the Intermediate Variable and the sought-for changes in the Dependent Variable also did not occur. This would be an unsuccessful project but the hypothesis would remain untested. This would call for continued

efforts to find ways to produce the desired change in the Intermediate Variable so as to test the hypothesis.

4. All programs failed to produce the desired changes in the Intermediate Variable but the hoped-for changes in the Dependent Variable actually did take place. In spite of the fact that the problem was diminished or eliminated, this would have to be considered an unsuccessful project -- the hypothesis would not have been tested. There would be little or no reason to expect the same outcome if the project were repeated. More importantly, if the same result did re-occur, there would be no understanding of how it came about. It would be necessary to follow the unsuccessful experiment with two kinds of efforts: one to find ways to produce change in the Intermediate Variable and another to discover how the programs which had been utilized did lead to the desired, final outcome.

Policy Issues Involved in the Demonstration

The action-research framework adopted for this Project implies certain positions on the following issues:

Comprehensiveness: The project has selected as its study area parts of Boston which, together, contain some 250,000 people. It is consistent with the principles underlying this Project that it will not strive to cover or "saturate" the whole area with its programs. Indeed, if that is the meaning of comprehensive, this Project deliberately seeks to avoid being comprehensive.

There is, in fact, a contradiction between the goal of comprehensive coverage of an area or population and the goal of learning which programs were effective with whom and why. It will be essential, at the conclusion of a project, to know (1) what is the effectiveness of a particular program when it is applied in isolation from other programs that are part of the project and (2) what is the effectiveness of a program when it is combined with other programs. Blanketing or saturating an area or a population with all the programs that constitute an over-all project makes it impossible to unravel the data in such a way as to answer these questions. This would be the equivalent of giving the same ten drugs to all the patients in an experimental group. If the patients responded to "the treatment", it would be impossible to state which drug or combination of drugs had been effective. If it were desired to produce the outcome again, all ten drugs would have to be administered, although it might be that only one of them is really required or that the addition of the others did not produce enough additional impact to warrant the added cost.

Several programs should be tried to bring about the desired outcome, for if it is achieved at all it may be traceable to only one among the several programs tried. Rather than "put all our eggs in one basket", the strategy will be to spread the risk and experiment with alternative ways of achieving the desired results.

Exposure to Programs: A set of questions similar to those above can be asked concerning the amount and duration of exposure of an individual to a program designed to change his behavior. What should be the "dosage" and how frequently should it be administered? To take a hypothetical example, there is the possibility that exposing an individual to a program only once a week may have no impact -- not because the program is inappropriate but because it cannot produce any effect unless the individual experiences the program at least three times each week for fifteen weeks.

Cost considerations are involved here as well. Decisions about investment in a program can be made more wisely when it is known how much investment produces how much impact. Consequently the Project will vary the amount, intensity and duration of specific programs and measure the impact on two or more groups with similar characteristics.

Degree of Risk: Whether a problem under consideration is accident proneness, academic failure in college, or delinquency, it is possible to divide a population into high, medium and low risk groups. In which of these groups should the resources of a program be invested? Where will a program dollar have the greatest impact? Will a small investment produce rapid and lasting changes in the low risk individual? Will a presumably heavy investment have any significant impact on the high risk group? These are important questions for making future decisions about the allocation of resources. The information on which to base these decisions can be obtained only by evaluating the impact on each risk group and weighing that impact against the resources invested.

This Project will therefore develop a prediction instrument that will make it possible to categorize the youth involved in the Project according to the degree to which each is likely to appear in police records, assuming no counter-measures are taken. High, medium and low risk individuals will then be included in the programs and the impact on each group will be measured.

Innovation: Many programs have been in operation for considerable periods of time without any careful evaluation of their effects. To repeat any of these programs without evaluation can be extremely wasteful. Therefore, some elements in this action-research program will be similar to existing programs, but with the important difference that their impact will be scientifically assessed; they will be innovative in this respect.

It is inevitable that projects similar to this across the country, addressing themselves to the same social problem, will experiment with programs that fall within common boundaries. The significant question is not whether a program is innovative, but whether it can be shown to have an impact on the problem. If some often tried but never-tested program turns out to be effective, this can be as significant a contribution to knowledge about combatiing delinquency as any other program devised.

Practical Applicability: An action-research project is designed with a view to repeating, on a larger scale and in other communities, those programs that prove effective. Feasibility, then, becomes one of the criteria for determining what action-research strategies will be used.

One measure of feasibility is cost in terms of both human and financial resources. However attractive strategies may appear to be from a purely theoretical point of view, they should not be implemented even experimentally if their cost is so high that there is reason to believe that sufficient resources will not be forthcoming to repeat the program on a broad scale. One way of keeping costs within reasonable limits -- particularly in programs where personnel constitutes the largest expenditure -- is to make maximum use of available personnel rather than personnel in short supply.

Another requirement imposed on an action-research program is that it not be so specifically tailored to the unique situation existing in one community that it will not have general applicability to the same problem elsewhere.

CHAPTER V

THE ACTION STRATEGIES AND THE PROGRAMS

The main objectives of this Project, it will be recalled, is to reduce the volume and seriousness of criminal-type acts committed by male youth, 12 through 16, residing in the South End, Charlestown and Roxbury. Achieving that objective, according to the Project's rationale, calls for intervening in the processes by which youth and adults learn and perform their roles. The rationale rests on the assumption that strengthening these processes will lead to more conforming behavior by youth with respect to the law. Strategies for intervening in these processes were formulated at the conclusion of Chapter III. This chapter describes the programs that will be employed to pursue the strategies.

It must be pointed out first, however, that arriving at a strategy -- whether in a delinquency prevention program, international politics, or any effort to resolve a problem -- does not specify the means or procedures for exploiting that strategy. There are countless programs, for example, that conceivably could increase the skills youngsters need to perform their roles, which is one of the Project's strategies. Any project of this type takes a risk when it selects programs that, it is hoped, will accomplish its purposes. Program A may fail completely; Program B may have limited impact on the problem but greater impact if it is combined with Program C.

Another observation needs re-emphasis before describing the programs. Each program is addressed to a specific, narrowly defined problem and has its own goal. In addition, each program is expected to contribute to the attainment of the Project's major objective by achieving its own specific goal.

To illustrate, it is assumed that strengthening a boy's role performance in school by improving his reading skill will reduce the chances of his committing a criminal-type act. A program is designed with the objective of improving reading skills. When the demonstration period is over, it will be necessary (1) to determine whether the reading skills of individuals exposed to the program have in fact improved and (2) whether those whose reading improved also committed fewer criminal-type acts than had been anticipated.

Eact of the programs described below is presented in terms of the strategic considerations that led to its selection -- why it is expected to have an impact on "delinquency." Each program involves more than one of the strategies derived from the rationale. This is so because the concepts and strategies underlying this Project are so closely linked and interwoven that they cannot be neatly isolated when they are applied to an action program.

In the implementation of the programs, the Project will have continuing responsibilities for both program development and evaluative research. Program development will involve (1) continued work with the agencies that will administer the programs on more specific, operational details of the program and (2) ongoing observation and monitoring of the program in action. The research unit of the Project will collect and analyze data to determine the extent to which the programs achieve their objectives. The cost of carrying out these functions is included as an integral part of the budget for each program. Detailed research designs have been developed for two programs -- youth training and employment program and the reading program -- and these are presented as examples of the research that will be carried out for each of the programs described below.

MULTI-SERVICE CENTERS

Strategic Considerations

High delinquency rates, by the very terms of this Project's rationale, are related to a breakdown in role performances by youth and by the adults who are significant in their lives. Most of the programs in this proposal are addressed directly to youth. This program is concerned primarily, though not exclusively, with the adult members of families who are beset by problems that damage and distort their performance of their roles as parents, husbands, wives, and economic providers for their children.

In the low-income areas in which this Project will concentrate its efforts, families face serious problems with respect to employment, physical and mental health, involvement with the courts, child-rearing, home-management, and other environmental and personal difficulties. Adults who have struggled with these problems since their own childhoods often lack both the knowledge and the skill for performing their roles and for teaching appropriate role performance to their children.

This program is designed to assist families to overcome these handicaps and limitations by reaching out to them with services that are geared to the resolution of their problems.

The program will bring a battery of services to people through centers in Roxbury, Charlestown and the South End. Services will be directed to families and individuals who have the greatest need for help, often with multiple problems, but are also the least willing and able to seek out and use help. Although the three centers will differ substantially in their scope and organization, they will share in these objectives:

1. To provide health, welfare and related services that are visible and accessible on a neighborhood or district level.

2. To make available a battery of services that can be coordinated around the family as a unit.

3. To develop effective techniques for delivering services to families and individuals who do not respond to the present system of services.

Program 1

ROXBURY SERVICES CENTER

This community is now in the midst of an urban renewal project, centered in the Washington Park section, with substantial numbers of families being relocated as housing is demolished. The relocation operation is uncovering family problems and in some instances intensifying or precipitating problems that were dormant or were somehow manageable before. However, even prior to urban renewal, studies by United Community Services identified Roxbury as the area of the city most in need of all health and welfare services. The change in racial composition of the district, which has been under way for a decade or more, is now accelerated, with the result that there is a high rate of family mobility into, out of and within Roxbury.

A three-part study of the Washington Park area, which contains some 25,000 people, was conducted by this Project and the findings and analysis are now being compiled. The study collected data from eight youth-serving agencies, some 25 churches and from interviews with 126 families. The study will have direct implications for the operation of the proposed multi-purpose center, but some of the preliminary impressions are useful at this point. First, 60% of the families of boys who had had some contact with the police had moved from the address they occupied six months earlier and could not be located. This gives some indication of the mobility rate in parts of Roxbury; the attendant disruption of family life is not hard to estimate.

Second, the churches reported requests for help with many problems that could not be met, either because the service was not available or was not known to the clergyman. The group-serving agencies reported their programs as consisting primarily of group work and recreation but stressed the need for health and welfare and related services that neither they nor other agencies were able to provide.

Before presenting the proposal for a center in Roxbury, it is important to describe the present state of development of this program. Early in the fall of 1963, United Community Services had established a committee, representing the main functional divisions within UCS, to discuss the concept of a multi-service center. At a joint staff meeting with UCS, ABCD staff outlined concrete but preliminary recommendations for multi-service centers in Roxbury and Charlestown, since--as will be described below--a neighborhood service center was being organized in the South End.

Following agreement to explore the concept and the specific recommendations, UCS and ABCD invited agency representatives of some 25 public and private agencies to come together to discuss the proposals in general.

Since then a continuous series of meetings have been held by UCS, ABCD and jointly to consider and clarify the proposal. General agreement on the need for multi-service centers has been consistent in these meetings. The discussions are continuing in order to resolve a number of questions concerning organization, method and auspices. The proposal presented here is subject to further refinement and amendment as a result of these discussions.

The Program

It is proposed to establish a new administrative structure and a new policy-making board representing the Roxbury community, UCS, ABCD and the participating agencies. The services that would be administered directly by the new organization are described immediately below, followed by a description of the services that would be integrated with the center but provided under separate auspices. Legal service is presented in this proposal as Program 4.

1. Employment personnel will be responsible for counseling, referring and where possible placing adults in employment. The staff will be drawn from the State Employment Service and from one or more private agencies. There will also be a direct liaison between the center and the Youth Employment and

Training operation at Norfolk House;

2. An intake and service staff of social workers will be available for rapid diagnosis of problems for carrying out short-term direct service, for bringing the other services to bear on a problem, and for preparing people for specialized family and children's services provided by established agencies.
3. An educational program will assist families to improve the management of their homes, including budgeting, nutrition, cleaning, etc.
4. A volunteer bureau will recruit and train volunteers from the community to assist in a variety of programs. One example is the use of supervised volunteers who would visit and welcome newcomer families. Volunteers would also function under the direction of other services, such as the health unit or the social work staff.
5. A medical and health unit will assess and provide certain services to meet the health problems of families and individuals and will secure specialized services from appropriate medical and health resources. A pilot program has been conducted in Boston jointly by the City Health Department and the Harvard School of Public Health, involving physicians, nurses and

social workers in services to mothers and babies. This type of service has been considered as the core of the health unit. Specialized and long-term medical treatment would necessitate referral to hospitals, clinics and other resources.

No specific location for the Roxbury Services Center has been selected. The urban renewal project plan calls for a new health building in Washington Park and consideration is being given to the advisability of locating the service center in or near this building so as to integrate the health services more closely with the other programs.

6. A mental health consultant would be available to the center for planning, consultation in individual cases, and for community education and coordination

7. A legal aid clinic to represent people in both criminal and civil actions and to provide legal consultation, in a preventive way, before problems reach the point of crisis. This would operate under a separate agency governed by existing services. It is recommended that the legal aid clinic be physically housed within the center, that its staff, under policies established by the legal aid program cooperate with other services in the center, but that

it be organizationally distinct and separate from the center.

One of the major objectives of the program is to develop techniques for providing services to families who need services but do not take the initiative in seeking them. This can be achieved, in part, by communication and interpretation between the Center and other agencies in the community. This can be accomplished by the assignment of liaison personnel to the center from such agencies as the Boston Redevelopment Authority, the Boston Housing Authority, the public schools and the City's Welfare Department.

In order to achieve its objectives, the center must reach out actively into the community to make contact with those who need its services and to interpret its program to other community agencies and to people in a position to refer those in need. A community coordination unit will carry out this function, including the orientation of such groups as the clergy to the whole range of community services. This kind of information will also be available within the center through a specialist in community resources.

Initially the center will serve its immediate surrounding area, but intensive outreaching will be needed to make the services available to different neighborhoods within Roxbury. Personnel will be assigned by the center, from six months to a year after its establishment, to settlement houses in Roxbury. They will provide limited, direct services to families and individuals in the neighborhoods served by the settlements. When appropriate they will arrange for individuals to obtain services at the center or for workers from the center to come out to the neighborhood to provide services to individuals or to set up a program on a decentralized basis.

As indicated in the attached budget, center workers will be assigned to six locations within the first 18 months. The YMCA is constructing a new building in Washington Park and the worker assigned to that agency will be working in that area in advance of, and in preparation for, the problem-centered services to be offered by the YMCA.

The Budget - Roxbury Services Center

	First Year
Director	$ 13,500
Assistant Director	11,000
Casework Supervisor	10,000
Caseworker @ $8,000	8,000
Community Coordinator	10,000
Community Coordinator @ $8,000	8,000
Information Specialist @ $7,000	7,000
Volunteer Bureau Supervisor	8,000
Employment Supervisor	7,500
Employment Specialist 2	14,000

	First Year
Home Development Supervisor	8,500
Home Development Assistant	6,500
Instructors	11,700
Health Director	6,000
Psychiatric Consultant	4,000
2 Nurses	13,000
Area Workers	
YMCA (6 months)	3,500
Cooper-Shaw (6 months)	3,500
St. Marks (6 months)	3,500
Roxbury Neighborhood House	
Grove Hall Area	
Bromley-Heath Housing Project	
Office Manager	6,500
5 Secretaries @ $4,000	20,000
Equipment	10,000
Rent	10,000
Miscellaneous	7,000
Sub-Total	207,200
Social Services Coordinator	12,000
Secretary	4,500
Research	70,000
TOTAL	293,700

PROGRAM 2

CHARLESTOWN SERVICE CENTER

Charlestown today is experiencing blight, decay, industrial expansion and dwindling population. Recognizing the seriousness of the physical and social problems, the clergy, civic, business and labor leaders organized the Federation of Charlestown Organizations to negotiate a renewal program based on rehabilitation and to develop social programs aimed at a general improvement of life in that district.

Many of the youth and adults in Charlestown face serious problems of family breakdown, unemployment, legal difficulties, loneliness, impaired physical and mental health, and old age. These problems extend beyond the capacities of existing resources in Charlestown. There is no agency that is equipped to assist the troubled family as a unit.

The present public assistance caseload in Charlestown is about 800 and many of these people need rehabilitative help in addition to financial aid. The 1,150 families in the housing project account for 41% of the public assistance caseload, yet represent less than 20% of the Charlestown population.

Unemployment has been a painful reality for the people of Charlestown. In 1950, the combined rate (men and women) of unemployment was 9.6% of the work force; and in 1960 it was 7.8% of the work force. In both years it was well over the unemployment rate for Boston as a whole.

Charlestown is faced with severe problems of teen-age drinking, vandalism and school dropouts.

The services proposed for the Charlestown Service Center are presented here in outline form, rather than repeating the descriptions given above in connection with the Roxbury center.

1. Family service to deal with alcoholism, mental health problems, household management, and impaired family functioning.
2. Employment and training service for youth and adults between 50 and 65.
3. Assistance to the tenants of the housing project to work toward improving the physical standards and the social life of the project and to establish closer ties with the general community in Charlestown.
4. Youth programs of a recreational and educational nature.
5. Legal aid.
6. Special programs for the aged to meet their social, physical and recreational needs.
7. Assistance in relocation.
8. A health clinic.
9. A volunteer bureau.

The center will establish close working relationships with:

- Catholic Family Counseling
- Department of Public Welfare
- Catholic Charitable Bureau
- Boston Health Department
- Visiting Nurses Association
- B.R.A., Relocation Service
- Boston Housing Authority
- Little Sisters of the Assumption
- Police Department
- Charlestown District Court
- St. Joseph's Retreat League
- Catholic and public schools
- St. Vincent de Paul Society
- Social Security Administration
- Catholic and Protestant Churches

Budget - Charlestown Service Center

	First Year	Second Year	Third Year
Executive Director	12,000	12,000	12,000
Social Service Coordinator	10,000	10,000	10,000
Community Coordinator	10,000	10,000	10,000
Caseworkers	8,000	16,000	16,000
Group Workers	8,000	16,000	16,000
Secretary	4,000	4,000	4,000
Typists	3,500	7,000	7,000
	$ 55,500	$ 75,000	$ 75,000
Insurance FICA	6,100	8,250	8,250
Office Supplies	1,500	1,000	1,000
Telephone	2,500	2,500	2,500
Building (Rent)	10,000	10,000	10,000
Conference	2,000	3,000	3,000
Equipment	3,000	1,000	1,000
	$ 25,100	$ 25,750	$ 25,750
SUB TOTAL	$ 80,600	$100,750	$100,750
ABCD Social Services Coordinator	6,000	6,000	6,000
(½ time) Secretary	4,500	4,500	4,500
3-Year Program Total	$ 91,100	$111,250	$111,250
Research	$ 30,000	$ 30,000	$ 30,000
GRAND TOTAL	$121,100	$141,250	$141,250

PROGRAM 3

THE SOUTH END NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTER

The South End's population faces grave problems: youth without skills and employment, the social isolation of thousands of older people, the economic dependence of single parent families with poor home management practices, intergroup tensions, homeless men on Skid Row, substandard sanitary and housing conditions.

Over the past three years, United South End Settlements (USES) has gained considerable experience in dealing with these problems from operating a Community Services Center in a housing project, its work with Puerto Rican newcomers, and the relocation of families from an area being cleared for redevelopment. Based on these experiences, USES is opening a services center early in 1964 to serve a neighborhood of 5,000 in the South End. A building has been purchased and is being renovated to house the center.

The area to be served is not a cohesive one, but is made up of small clusters of neighbors surrounded by isolated older people, transient roomers and mobile families. There are people of many different nationality, racial and religious backgrounds. Some have deep roots in the community while others like the Puerto Ricans and the relocated Chinese families are new to the area. There are many young families and a high percentage of single older people. Income varies markedly as does the quality of housing and neighborhood environments.

The specific services to be provided will evolve from extensive contacts with residents of the neighborhood to gain a more precise understanding of their needs and from negotiations with public and private agencies to cooperate in delivering the needed services. Initially there will be a core staff of three persons. Collectively they will have a range of skills for working with individuals, families, community groups and with the variety of public and private agency services which will be needed. Each of the three workers will be assigned to a specific geographic area and be responsible for the program conducted in it. He will aim at getting to know his area as fully as possible in terms of the people who live there, their problems and needs as well as the resources that are available for direct service.

The central administration of USES will support the efforts of the Center in two ways. It will assure maximum availability of its district wide services, e.g. youth employment, older adult, community organization, art center, camps, etc. Also it will seek help from United Community Services and Action for Boston Community Development in bringing more effectively coordinated services into the area from such sources as: Department of Public Welfare, Visiting Nurse Association, Legal Aid Society, the Mayor's Office, Boston School Department, Family Service Association, Massachusetts State Employment Service, Massachusetts State Division of Mental Health, Massachusetts State Extension Division of Home Economics.

It is hoped that representatives of certain public and private agencies will be assigned by the administrators of the "parent" organizations to the Neighborhood Service Center on some set time basis. These individuals would have access to office spcce in the Center and, on the basis of information secured by the core staff would be able to act promptly in cases appropriate to their several functions, particularly in instances where crisis intervention is indicated.

__EXAMPLE__: A staff worker might discover a young school dropout in need of training and employment. He would refer him to the new Youth Employment Center.

__EXAMPLE__: A staff worker might find multiple violations of the housing and public health codes. He would report details to the city service expeditor and follow the progress made in correcting the violations. If a significant number of such cases are found, he will act to solve the problems in one of a variety of methods. He may organize a group of families, provide legal advice as to their rights in such matters and help them to act in their own behalf -- either as a group alone or with support if necessary. Space at the Center will be available for meetings of this sort.

__EXAMPLE__: A Puerto Rican family, newly arrived, may need the entire gamut of services available: English lessons in Adult Education programs, prenatal care, public welfare and casework service, job counseling for employable members of the family, school advice affecting the placement of children, etc. An important aspect of such a set of services would be the involvement of a local group organized for the special problems of Puerto Ricans, e.g., the Spanish Speaking Center.

__EXAMPLE__: An older person might be found unattended with a serious physical ailment and receiving insufficient support from a meager private pension. This person may be referred to the Visiting Nurse Association and the Public Welfare Department.

USES anticipated the need for an intake and information worker to be present at all times in the center. A thorough evaluation of the whole operation of the center is being planned. USES is assuming the cost of the three core staff; funds are being requested in this budget for the intake worker and the evaluation.

South End Neighborhood Service Center

	First Year
Intake Worker @$6,500	$ 6,500
Research	10,000
TOTAL	$16,500

PROGRAM 4

LEGAL SERVICES

Strategic Considerations

The attitude toward society held by a youngster in a low income area is shped in part, by the impact of the police, the laws and the legal system on his parents, his older siblings and himself. If, for example, members of his family do not obtain adequate defense in the criminal courts, or if creditors use legal processes to enforce unjust contractual arrangements, the youngster develops a view of the law as something hostile to his interests. This perception can lead to a rejection of legally acceptable behavior.

Although Massachusetts is well ahead of most states in provision for legal aid for the indigent, there are still serious shortcomings, notably in low-income areas and in areas occupied by racial minorities.

Public defenders are not generally available for criminal defendants in district courts, which have jurisdiction over misdemeanors and arraignments in felony cases. Where court appointed counsel is provided in such courts, the counsel is hampered by lack of funds in preparing his case and often such counsel is inexperienced and unable to cope with the more experienced prosecutors.

Legal aid in civil matters is provided from a downtown office, not from easily accessible offices in the neighborhoods.

Preventive legal advice to prevent acute family difficulties is not generally provided for indigents. The consequence is that families suffer severe economic losses or disruptive family situations before they seek legal assistance.

Criminal defendants unable to pay interest charges on bail bonds are detained for days and weeks, hampering their efforts to defend themselves in court. Often this disrupts the family by removing a parent and a wage-earner.

Attorneys are not trained adequately to recognize or refer social problems and social workers are similarly not equipped to recognize legal problems for referral purposes.

Legal aid, civil and criminal, can no longer be confined to the period from arraignment to judgment. Such aid, if it is to be effective in helping families, must be handled as part of an over-all treatment of the families.

The Program

A unified legal service program for low-income residents of Boston is designed to meet this situation. The proposal provides for a governing body representing ABCD, the legal aid services, the law schools, the private social agencies, the courts, and city, county and state legal officials. The working staff would include attorneys for both criminal and civil matters organized in a central office and in neighborhood law clinics in Roxbury, South End, and Charlestown as well as East Boston. Personnel to handle referral problems and in-service training of personnel would also be included.

The district offices would provide preventive legal advice, defense services in district courts and legal aid in civil cases. In addition, a bail program, similar to that conducted by the Vera Foundation in New York City, would be operated from the district offices.

These offices would be located in the proposed multi-service centers. Although separately administered, the clinic staffs would work closely with other center personnel in referral of family and individual situations and, where necessary, in team handling of socio-legal problems.

Students from the five law schools in the metropolitan area would assist in the central and district offices.

One of the elements of the program will be specifically concerned with youth. The desirability of representation of youthful offenders in a juvenile court on a systematic basis is a point on which there is much conflict of opinion. The legal service program, once in operation, would explore possible alternatives for providing counsel in the juvenile court, in order that the value of such a system might be assessed adequately.

The proposed program was submitted to a meeting of 40 representatives of the bench, bar and social agencies. Discussions are underway with the boards and staffs of legal aid services and with United Community Services, looking toward final decisions on a number of administrative aspects of the program.

ANNUAL BUDGET

Central Office		
Executive Secretary to Governing Body	(1)	9,500
Executive Director	(1)	12,000
Community Relations Officers	(1)	9,500
Chief Civil Attorney	(1)	9,500
Chief Criminal Attorney	(1)	9,500
Social Service Referral Coordinator	(1)	9,000
Social Scientist	(1)	9,000
Assistant Attorneys	(2)	15,000
Secretaries	(2)	9,400
Roxbury Office		
Attorneys	(3)	24,000
Secretary	(1)	5,200
South End Office		
Attorneys	(2)	16,000
Secretary	(1)	5,200
Charlestown Office		
Attorneys	(2)	16,000
Secretary	(1)	5,200
Faculty Compensation		5,000
Bail Research		5,000
Rental		
Central Office		3,500
District Offices		3,600
Telephone		
Central Office		1,200
District Offices		2,400
Other Utilities		
Central Office		2,400
District Offices		2,400
Office Supplies and Equipment		6,000
Legal Operating Funds		3,500
Mail and Miscellaneous		2,000
Insurance and Other Personnel Costs		6,000
Research		40,000

Program 5

YOUTH TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

Strategic Considerations

This Project's rationale has emphasized that the behavior of children and youth is an outcome of the role performance world in which they have been immersed. This program is designed to improve the role performance of older brothers and sisters of members of the Project's target population. As these older siblings get and hold jobs, it is assumed that the younger brothers, who will be 13 through 16 during the life of the Project will be influenced by being exposed to a pattern of behavior that conforms more closely to general expectations than the present unskilled and unemployed status of the older group.

The Specific Problem

The Study Area contains a substantial number of out-of-school, unemployed, and unmotivated youth who are presently unemployable. These youth are in need of special preparation and training in order to become employable. Most of them have failed in school and have not acquired marketable skills. It is estimated that at least one-fourth of the out-of-school youth under 22 years of age in the Study Area are unemployed. Many of these youths have never been counted as part of the labor force since they have neither worked nor applied for employment.

The specific objective of this program is to improve the employability of unemployed youth in the Study Area. The program seeks to achieve this objective by:

1. Locating, identifying and attempting to motivate toward training and employment out-of-school and out-of-work youth.
2. Exposing these youth wherever necessary to training which enables them to compete in the world of work.
3. Placing them in full-time, permanent jobs commensurate with their abilities.
4. Opening up job opportunities for these youths, particularly those in minority groups, through cooperative arrangements with employers and labor unions.

In order to accomplish these purposes, the program will experiment with the following techniques:

1. More effective testing, including the development of non-verbal and other new tests and techniques especially adapted to youth of limited education, skills and motivation.

2. More effective work evaluation and counseling techniques.
3. Educational remediation, and remediation related to on-the-job training, tailored to individual needs.

The program intends to demonstrate the kinds of procedures and techniques that must be provided to meet the special work preparation requirements of "hard-core youth."

The Program

The process of development of the youth training and employment program was described in detail in Chapter I and the locations of the program operations appeared on the map included in that chapter.

Following the signing of the contract between ABCD and the Department of Labor, staff for the program has been employed, physical quarters made ready, and the services will be in operation early in January.

Sixteen hundred youth between 16 and 21 years of age, out of school and out of work, many of them Negroes, will be served under this program.

The program will cover the following groups of youth:

1. Those who at the point of intake are virtually unemployable due to inadequate education, lack of skills, lack of motivation and general social and vocational maladjustment. This group includes school dropouts, those who are economically dependent and those who have experienced conflict with the law. Special attention will be given to those on AFDC. There will also be youth in this group at various levels of achievement; for example, high school graduates who lack motivation. This group as a whole will be given intensive, long-term vocational testing, counseling and preparation for employment.

2. Those who require work orientation and initial practical work experience. These are youngsters who may have been well motivated but did not obtain appropriate opportunities to develop needed background.

3. Youth in need of specialized educational and industrial training courses to meet the requirements of a particular occupation or training project. These are youngsters whom testing and examination show to have untapped capacity.

4. Youth who demonstrate readiness for on-the-job training. They include those who can make a satisfactory entry into active employment after a moderate amount of professional vocational preparation, job training and guidance.

5. Those who demonstrate readiness for placement on a full-time permanent job.

Two Neighborhood Youth Training and Employment Centers operated by settlement house federations are being opened in the South End and Roxbury-North Dorchester areas. In addition, two accredited work evaluation and conditioning agencies will expand their facilities to provide needed intensive services in evaluation, counseling and occupational training.

ABCD has assumed over-all direction and supervision of the program, including the coordination of all related services. The Coordinator is responsible for the development of employment and on-the-job training opportunities in the metropolitan area through negotiation with management and labor. The Coordinator has an Assistant and a Job Development Specialist to carry out these tasks. ABCD is also responsible for testing services within the program and for conceptualizing, planning and carrying out testing experiments. ABCD will conduct the evaluation of the demonstration, as described below.

The Training and Employment Centers will stimulate initial contacts with youth at strategic locations in the Study Area, place them in training programs at levels commensurate with their capacity, oversee the training process by continued follow-up, and place them in full-time employment upon completion of their training. United South End Settlements and Norfolk House are operating these Centers.

Center staffs consist of a manager, three vocational counselors, a work orientation supervisor, a records clerk, and a clerk-typist. The ABCD Testing Specialist Coordinator will divide his time between the two Centers. A remedial teacher will also divide his time between the two Centers.

The Centers will accept youth who are self-referred, referred by Massachusetts State Employment Service, by area youth workers from the Youth Activities Bureau, social workers from the Aid to Dependent Children program, other social workers, and local clergymen.

Following initial identification and written registration by the records clerk, the applicant will be referred to a counselor and will be tested. Youth referred to the agencies providing intensive counseling and training may receive specialized testing at these agencies.

Counseling will be conducted on both an individual and group basis. Each youth will be assigned to one counselor on a permanent basis in order to provide continuity of interest and understanding. The counseling relationship has as its goals increasing the individual's respect for the world of work, stimulation of motivation for learning, and encouragement toward continued participation in the program. Utilizing information derived from intake, testing, and individual interviews, the counselors will provide vocational guidance and information, with the aim of directing youth to appropriate training assignments and ultimately to job placement. Counseling will include follow-up and supportive service as needed throughout the period of training.

A preliminary assessment of the applicant's vocational strengths and weaknesses will be made by the counselor on the basis of interviews and the results of the tests. The Center staff will assign youth based on this assessment to one or a combination of training programs which are considered appropriate. Prior to final assignment, more intensive assessment and evaluation may be made with representatives from the specific training program involved. Factors to be taken into account will include age, ability, interest, maturity and general work and social history.

The Youth Training and Employment Program will offer a variety of program alternatives. These are:

a) Intensive, long-term counseling and preparation for employment through assignment to accredited vocational and rehabilitation agencies;

b) Work orientation training through assignment to small, diversified work units in the local community;

c) Assignment to MDTA programs;

d) Assignment to on-the-job training programs;

e) Enrollment in trade and industrial school courses, both public and private;

f) Enrollment in educational programs designed for remediation as well as for providing specific trade training (to be sought through appropriate institutional training channels.)

Approximately 400 youth requiring intensive counseling, work adjustment and training will be referred to two accredited, well-established vocational service agencies --Morgan Memorial, Inc., and Jewish Vocational Service, Inc. Youth assigned to these special services will include school dropouts, the unmotivated, and those who are socially or vocationally handicapped.

The staff of these agencies will follow-up on a preliminary assessment made at the Center to evaluate more fully the individual youth's potential and will develop a specific work and training program tailored to the youth's needs.

Approximately 150 youths, not ready for formal training or placement and requiring some preliminary preparation, will be assigned work orientation programs to be conducted by the Youth Training and Employment Centers. Emphasis will be on the development of good working habits in simulated work situations. Youth will become familiar with the use of hand and power tools and with supervision and discipline. This orientation will lead to subsequent on-the-job or institutional training for which the youth appears best suited.

A major resource of the Youth Training and Employment program will be job-training projects under MDTA. Some youth will be slotted into ongoing MDTA projects suitable for a carefully screened group. Others will be assigned to special youth projects. Many will be trained in projects which are currently planned for youth from Boston's gray areas. It is expected that approximately 350 applicants will be enrolled in these various MDTA projects in the course of one year. They will develop marketable skills in such demand occupations as electronic technician (entry), Clerk-typist, automobile body repairman, shoe stitcher, practical nurse, machine operator general, cook (institutional), baker's helper, building maintenance worker, presser, cleaner and spotter, and supermarket clerk.

Full-time on-the-job training will be available to youth who have acquired the necessary skills for immediate adaptation to a specific job experience. Such placements will be available in appropriate business, industrial, public and non-profit settings. On-the-job training will be conducted on a small-group basis with groups varying from three to nine youths in any one occupational setting.

For youths who need remedial education in order to benefit from on-the-job training, part-time OJT placements will be coupled with appropriate remediation courses. Programs will range up to six months. Approximately 200 youths will be placed in the full-time and part-time OJT program.

Training courses especially suited to the needs of selected youth, but unavailable either in the regular school system or in the Manpower Development and Training Act projects, will be arranged through appropriate institutional training channels.

The Boston Public School Department has agreed to establish the following vocational educational training courses, to accommodate approximately 150 youths during the year.

Carpentry	- 32 Weeks	(800 Hours)
Typing and General Office Procedures	- 24 Weeks	(600 Hours)
Machine Operator	- 12-20 Weeks	
Lathe	-	(500 Hours)
Milling Machine	-	(500 Hours)
Drill Press	-	(300 Hours)
Electronics Assembler	- 20 Weeks	(500 Hours)

In addition, a general shop orientation course of 8 weeks (200 hours) will be established.

Some of the participants in the program will be enrolled in specialized private trade and industrial schools for training not available in the public school programs. Use of private trade and industrial schools will be subject to approval by the State Division of Vocational Education.

Work related and remedial education activities will be conducted by the Boston Public Schools to complement other training programs (part-time OJT, work-orientation at the Training Centers,etc.). Such work-related education, to be provided by teacher-coordinators, will consist of teaching programs which are directly related to the work tasks to which youth have been assigned. This will minimize the difficulties arising from separation of academic training and actual work programs.

The most important goal of the Youth Training and Employment Program will be the placement of applicants in full-time, permanent jobs commensurate with their highest capacities. The State Employment Service, through staff representatives assigned to the Neighborhood Youth Training and Employment Centers, will be primarily responsible for placement of individuals on specific jobs. The ABCD Coordinator will have general responsibility for the development of employment opportunities in the Greater Boston Area. Counselors and others on the staffs of agencies participating in the program will also serve as "resource persons" for job-finding. Close ties will be maintained with the proposed Boston Youth Employment Commission, a high-level citizen's group of business, labor, professional and government leaders, concerned with the development of community awareness and action programs dealing with the youth employment problem.

Placement of youth in full-time employment will be followed up by counselors from the Centers and the intensive service facilities to assess the youth's adjustment to employment and to provide further vocational service as required, including assistance for up-grading and promotion.

In the early stages of planning the Youth Employment and Training Program, it was recognized that youth in the Washington Park and Grove Hall areas of Roxbury would require an intensive effort of reaching-out to bring them into the program. It was recognized as essential to have workers who would be out on the street corners, in the bowling alleys and other places where out-of-school and out-of-work youth congregate.

It was logical to assign this responsibility to the Youth Activities Bureau of the City since that agency has been engaged for several years in a program of contacting and working with youth in various parts of Boston through its Area Youth Workers. However, the Labor Department could not provide funds for this phase of the program and it was removed from the contract ABCD signed with the Department of Labor.

Since the function of locating and referring youth to the Neighborhood Centers must be performed to carry out this program, additional funds will be required to enable the Youth Activities Bureau to assume this responsibility. Three new area youth workers, a supervisor, and a clerk will be employed specifically for the Grove Hall-Washington Park areas of Roxbury to refer youth to the Center at Norfolk House.

One area youth worker, full-time, and two workers, half-time, as well as a statistician-administrative assistant--all from the regular staff of the Bureau--will work on this program in Grove Hall-Washington Park. The director of the Bureau, the supervisor of the Staff, and other Bureau personnel will devote substantial amounts of their time to the program.

In addition, an educational and vocational counseling program will be established to serve parts of the Study Area beyond the service area of the two Centers. Two counselors will be employed for this purpose.

Long-Range Aspects of the Program

The Community Renewal Program, proposed by the Boston Redevelopment Authority, calls for a study of manpower needs. Crucial to the goals of the Youth Training and Employment Program is the fact that the manpower study will be addressed to the problem of matching the city's unemployed and under-employed with unfilled job opportunities. Its major concern will be the training of adults who are culturally and socially unprepared for urban living and for meeting its economic requirements. The program calls for the designing of action-research demonstrations to be conducted during, and as part of, the studies. The manpower study of the CRP will complement the Youth Training and Employment Program, since the study will be focused on determining the types of jobs for which there will be a demand in the next decade.

The Youth Training and Employment Program itself, recognizing the need for adequate job placements, is working closely with State Employment Service, and with private enterprise to expand present employment opportunities for youth as well as creating new ones. It is also maintaining ties developed earlier with the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and other sources of employment information.

There is increased recognition that technological changes require that continued attention be focused on job opportunities projected for the future. In this regard, the Youth Training and Employment Program is following a skill survey in the Greater Boston area conducted by the Boston College Bureau of Business Research, to determine the kinds of vocational training that ought to be made available to youth now and in the immediate future.

The Youth Training and Employment Program will have the flexibility required to adapt training programs to new findings relative to the labor market. In this way it is expected that the gap between training and job opportunities will be narrowed. The relationship that exists among Project staff in the Youth Training and Employment Program and Project staff in the Boston Public School programs will permit a feed-back of information and experience into the public school system relative to future job opportunities. This, in turn, should help to keep the city's vocational training programs geared to realistic goals. Comparable feed-back of information will be maintained with the State

Employment Service as well as with the public and private social welfare agencies.

The Youth Training and Employment Program does not purport to train youth to the point of becoming highly skilled personnel in a particular technology; the aim is to bring them to a beginning point in vocational development. Therefore, negotiations for job opportunities with prospective employers will include orienting employers to the need to "pick up" such youth and move them along to a more highly skilled level. There is an increasing preference on the part of employers to do their own training of personnel; employers are more concerned that new employees be highly motivated and have some recognition of job requirements.

Evaluation of the Youth Training and Employment Program

The objective of this demonstration program is to improve the employability of unemployed and unemployable youths in the Study Area by exposing them to the assessment, training, and placement program described above. The specific objective of the evaluation component of the program is to provide findings which will form the basis for decisions concerning the continuance, expansion, modification, or discontinuance of the program in terms of the extent to which it achieves the objectives defined for it.

The three basic aspects of the over-all program are:

A. The target group--the unemployed or unemployable youth--and the screening and assessment procedures;

B. The alternative procedures or combinations of procedures to be applied to youth in the target area;

C. The intended outcome or outcomes--improvement in employability.

Two types of screening procedures are involved:

1. Screening for eligibility for service by the program. A set of selection or screening criteria will be established which define eligibility for the program--such as age, place of residence, employment status.

2. Screening for allocation to alternative programs available--the assessment process. A set of assessment criteria--and procedures for measuring them--will be established. On the basis of these criteria, decisions will be made as to the eligibility of each individual (who has already passed through the first screening procedure) for the alternative programs or combinations of programs available--such as counselling, on the job training, apprenticeship training, rehabilitation services, etc.

The basic research procedure to be utilized will be random allocation to experimental and control groups. The minimum service that will be offered to any youth designated as eligible--that is, meeting the age, residence and employment status criteria--will be a standard placement interview and placement effort by the State Employment Service unit at one of the Centers. At intake, the preliminary interview will be conducted by the records clerk to determine eligibility for the overall program. The records clerk will subsequently verify the information obtained in the interview. A random one-fourth of those designated as eligible will be selected by the records clerk and will be referred to the SES placement unit for standard SES placement service. Henceforth these applicants will be ineligible for other services available in the program. This group will constitute the control group and there will be one control group for each center. If a control individual returns at a later date to the center, he will continue as an SES case.

The records clerk will obtain from each counsellor a report stating the reasons why he made each allocation and the basis for those reasons. The clerk will maintain a record of the assessment and other services offered by the counselor for each youth assigned to that counselor and will keep up to date a data profile for each youth as obtained by interview, tests and observations. The records clerk will obtain from the counselor at specified intervals ratings of each youth on rating scales designed by the ABCD evaluation unit. The clerk will also maintain a file on other observational information for each youth, such as attendance, punctuality, appearance, department, etc.

Each youth assigned may be referred by his counselor to one or more services. The records clerk in each Training Center will maintain detailed records of each referral and will notify the ABCD evaluation unit accordingly. The ABCD evaluation unit will follow up on each referral as follows:

a. The extent to which the youth followed through on the referral and, if so, whether according to schedule;

b. The extent to which the youth continued participation in the referred service--punctuality, attendance, termination, subsequent referrals, etc.; and

c. The substantive content of the specific program to which the youth was exposed at the referral agency.

The information obtained from these first two phases of the evaluation--information about the target group and the assessment procedures and information about the intervention--will provide the basis for answering the following questions:

1. Was the program conducted according to the plans designed for it and if not, what were the specific variations introduced?
2. What, if any, were the variations in response (defined in terms of degrees of follow-through on the referral and participation in the program) by the youths to the alternative programs or combinations of programs? What were the variations, if any, by types of youth?
3. To what extent were these variations, if they occurred, a function of differences in counselor allocations and motivation methods by type of individual?

The basic objective of this demonstration program, is, as previously stated, to improve the employability of unemployed and unemployable youths in the Study Area by exposing them to the program described in this proposal. For evaluation purposes, employability will be defined in terms of scores on the following rating scales to be developed by the ABCD evaluation unit.

1. A job-referrability score. The ratings will be made by the SES placement worker at the time at which the youth is referred to him. For the control group this would take place almost immediately upon appearance at the center. For the experimental group, this would take place at a later point in time when the youth is referred back to SES for placement.

2. A job-referral score will be based on the number of times the youth is actually referred for job openings relative to the number of appearances at the SES office and on the type of jobs (prestige, skill required, salary, advancement opportunity, etc.) to which he is referred.

3. An employment attainment score will be based on the ratio of jobs the youth actually got to the number of job referrals.

4. A job-stability score will be based on the length of time the youth remains on the job, once a job is found, and on the reasons for leaving a job, if terminated.

5. A skill advancement score will be based on the extent to which the youth acquires additional marketable skills through schooling or other training.

6. A job advancement score will be based on the extent to which the youth has advanced on the job or through job changes. Advancement will be defined in terms of salary increases, promotions, increases in responsibility, improvement in opportunity to advance.

7. A job perseverance score will be based on the steps the youth takes to find a job when he is not referred or placed by the center or when he loses a job.

The success of the program will be measured in terms of the extent to which the experimental cases score significantly higher than the control cases on one or more of the scales described above.

By the end of the demonstration period, the ABCD evaluation unit wants to be able to answer the following questions:

1. Who, by name, address, age, sex, school performance and other characteristics, were exposed to the program?
2. What specific procedures were used in the program? To what extent were different procedures used with different individuals or types of individuals or the same procedures applied in differing amounts to different individuals or types of individuals?
3. Did those who were exposed to the program change in the desired direction as defined by the objectives of the program?

and

4. Can we attribute those changes (if in fact they occurred) to the intervention of the program?

As has been previously emphasized, it is the aim of the Boston Youth Opportunities Project to produce certain changes which the Project's rationale indicates will reduce law-violating behavior of 12 through 16 year old males. One of the changes it wishes to produce is improved role performance, particularly in family and work roles, of individuals in the immediate social environment of the members of the target population. The primary focus of the Youth Training and Employment Program within this delinquency prevention Project will be on the performance of older siblings of the members of the target group. Particularly important measures pertaining to role performances are scales #4 and #7, the "job-stability scale" and the "job perseverance scale." The purpose of this phase of the research will be to determine whether or not the Youth Training and Employment program is able to produce such changes. The issue of whether or not such changes, when they occur, are followed by reductions in law violating behavior will be considered in Chapter VI--the measurement of the impact of the Boston Youth Opportunities Project.

In order to implement the evaluation design outlined above, ABCD will require the resources necessary for a massive amount of data collection and analysis and for the construction of sensitive measuring instruments. This will necessitate the employment of personnel, working under the direction of ABCD's Research

Department, as well as the use of mechanical means of reproducing and processing data.

Anticipating the two to three year demonstration period, background, behavioral and personal data, asesssment and other data acquired at intake and during the screening process, and employability, employment and other behavioral data over a considerable period of time will have to be assembled, processed, and analyzed for 3,000 to 4,500 youths. In addition, referral, program participation and other data acquired during the training period will have to be assembled, processed and analyzed for 2,000 to 3,000 youths exposed to one or more components of the experimental program. Extensive contacts will have to be maintained with various information sources--employers, employment services, schools, probation and parole offices, courts, police and correctional systems. An elaborate tracking device will have to be devised and utilized in order to keep informed as to the whereabouts and performance of all 3,000 to 4,500 youths.

The evaluation will require a period of one year beyond the termination of the action program; a six-months period to ensure that all trainees have a minimum of six months of post-training exposure in the community and an additional six-months for data processing and analysis and for preparing the study findings for presentation.

Budget

A. Action for Boston Community Development, Inc.

1. Personnel

Project Director-Coordinator	@$13,000	(15 mos.)	$16,250
Assistant Director-Coordinator	@ 11,000	(15 mos.)	13,750
Job Development Specialist	1 @ 10,000	(15 mos.)	12,500
Testing Specialist	1 @ 10,000	(15 mos.)	12,500
Clerk-Stenographer	2 @ 4,000		8,000
Testing Consultants			5,000
Social Security Taxes, actual cost under 15%			10,200
			$78,200

2. Other Expenses

Travel (Per Diem allowances at Federal level)	$ 2,000
Supplies	1,000
Telephone	1,200
Rental of Office Machines and Office Equipment	2,000
	$ 6,200

Total------------ $84,400

B. Neighborhood Youth Training and Employment Centers (Budget for 2 Centers)

1. Personnel

Supervisor	2 @ $9,000	(15 mos.)	$22,500
Vocational Counselor	6 @ 7,000		42,000
Work Orientation Counselor	2 @ 5,200		10,400
Records Clerk	2 @ 4,500		9,000
Clerk-Stenographer	2 @ 4,500		9,000
Fringe Benefits (Social Security, Taxes, etc.) actual cost under 15%			13,935
			$106,835

2. Equipment and Supplies (2 Centers)

Rental of Furniture	$ 2,000
Postage	700
Office Supplies	2,000
Rental of Office Machines	1,000
	$ 5,700

3. Other Expenses (2 Centers)

Rent	@ $2,500 per year	5,000
Renovations - Partitions		2,000
Electricity		1,000
Insurance (Workman's Compensation, Liability&Fire)		600
Travel (Local)		1,000
Telephone		2,000
		$ 11,600
	Total-------	$124,135

C. Jewish Vocational Service, Inc. - Budget

1. Personnel

Project Supervisor	1 @ $9,000 (15 mos.)	11,250
Counseling Supervisor	1 @ 8,000	8,000
Counselor	3 @ 7,500	22,500
Psychologist -Counselor	(part-time)	2,500
Office Manager	1 @ 4,500	4,500
Typist	1 @ 4,000	4,000
Maintenance Man-Janitor	1 @ 3,400	3,400
Actual Fringe Benefits -	(Social Security, Taxes, no more than 15%)	8,420
		$ 64,570

2. Administrative Office Expense

Office Furniture (Rental)	$ 1,200
Office Machines (Rental)	500
Office Accessories	100
	$ 1,800

3. Rental of Space (Administrative Work Sample Phase, and Pro-rated Production)

Phase (5,000 Sq. Ft.)	$ 3,500
Alterations (pro-rated)	1,000
	$ 4,500

4. Administrative Office Consumable Supplies

Office Supplies	600
Postage	300
Telephone (Pro-rated)	1,000
Light, heat, power (pro-rated)	1,000
Insurance (Liability and Fire (pro-rated))	300
	$ 3,200

5. Work Sample (No Production)

Rental Equipment	2,000
Consumable Supplies	600
Maintenance and Repair	600
	$ 3,200

6. Production Phase

Maintenance and Repair (above ordinary repair)	1,200
Rental of Equipment (pro-rated to training)	2,800
Spoilage (amount in excess of that which, based on experience, exceeds ordinary spoilage for such production)	600
	$ 4,600
	$ 81,870

D. Morgan Memorial, Inc. - Budget

1. Personnel

Operations Supervisor	1 @ $9,000 (15 mos.)	$ 11,250
Counseling Supervisor	1 @ 8,000	8,000
Counselors	3 @ 7,500	22,500
Staff Psychologist (Part-time)		2,500
Office Manager	1 @ 4,500	4,500
Typist	1 @ 4,000	4,000
Maintenance Man-Janitor	1 @ 3,400	3,400
Fringe Benefits (Social Security, Taxes, etc.) actual cost no more than 15%		8,420
		$ 64,570

2. Administrative Office Expense

Office Furniture(Rental)	1,200
Office Machines (Rental)	500
Office Accessories	100
	$ 1,800

3. Rental of Space (Administrative Work Sample Phase, and Pro-rated Production)

Phase (5,000 Sq. Ft.)	3,500
Alterations (Pro-rated)	1,000
	$ 4,500

4. Administrative Office Consumable Supplies

Office Supplies	$ 600
Postage	300
Telephone (Pro-rated)	1,000
Light, heat, power (pro-rated)	1,000
Insurance (Liability and Fire (pro-rated))	300
	$ 3,200

5. Work Sample (No Production)

Rental Equipment	$ 2,000
Consumable Supplies	600
Maintenance and Repair	600
	$ 3,200

6. Production Phase

Maintenance and Repair (above ordinary repair)	$ 1,200
Rental of Equipment (pro-rated to training)	2,800
Spoilage (the amount in excess of that which, based on experience, exceeds ordinary spoilage for such production)	600
	$ 4,600
Total-----	$ 81,870
GRAND TOTAL--------------------	$372,275

Budget for Youth Activities Bureau

Grove Hall-Washington Park

4 Area Youth Workers @ $5,200	$ 20,800
Supervisor	6,500
Clerk	3,640
2 Area Youth Workers (half-time)	5,600
Statistician-Administrative Assistant	5,500

Workers in Adjoining Areas

4 Area Youth Workers (half-time)	10,800
2 Counselors @ $6,000	12,000

Administration and Supervision

Director of Bureau, half-time	4,750
Supervisor of Staff, half-time	4,100
Area Supervisor, half-time	3,250
Chief Educational Counselor, half-time	3,000
	$ 79,940

Budget for Evaluation

Evaluation Project Director (15 months) @ $12,000	$ 15,000
Field Supervisor	8.500
Assistants (2)	11,000
Secretary	4,000
Consultants	2,500
Interviewing	2,000
Materials	800
Travel	1,000
Data Processing	8,000
	$ 52,800
Fringe Benefits	7,920
	$ 60,720
TOTAL ANNUAL BUDGET	$512,935

BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A substantial part of this proposal consists of eight programs planned jointly by the Boston Public Schools and the Boston Youth Opportunities Project. It was pointed out in the first chapter that funds have been allocated by the School Department, The Ford Foundation and ABCD for four educational programs which are about to go into operation at this time. These programs, described below, are concerned with: (1) reading, (2) pre-kindergarten classes, (3) guidance advisors, and (4) school adjustment counseling.

Four additional programs have been planned by joint teams of school personnel and Project staff and have been approved, in the form in which they appear below except for minor budgetary details, by the Superintendent of Schools. It is anticipated that the school system's share in the cost of these programs will be requested in the budget for 1964; as of this writing, however, formal action has not yet been taken by the School Committee. The second group of programs, described below, consists of (1) work-study, (2) tutoring, (3) ability identification and development, and (4) home-school liaison. Before describing the eight school-based programs, some general observations will provide background information.

Boston's public schools clearly reflect the social and economic changes the city has been experiencing for the past two decades. A basic change results from the out-migration of middle class families and in-migration of low-income, predominantly Negro, families. These population shifts, coupled with the educational and cultural deprivations of many of the in-coming group, now confront Boston and its schools with the task of resolving new and urgent problems.

Although the total population of the city decreased from approximately 800,000 to 700,000 between 1950 and 1960, the public school enrollment remained remarkably stable. There were 92,793 students in the public schools in 1962, an increase of about 500 since 1952. While these figures do not reveal the substantial movements of population into, out of, and within the city, they suggest the new families have larger numbers of school-age children.

The in-migration of low-income and culturally-disadvantaged families is concentrated in Roxbury and the South End, the districts in which almost all of Boston's 14,000

Negro school children live.

The records of culturally disadvantaged children in the Study Area indicate that when they begin school they are already below the city average in auditory and visual skills. Handicapped from the outset of their school careers by lack of exposure to reading materials, "average" verbal articulation, and to adults who read ,at home, these students fall progressively farther behind their peers as they move into the upper elementary grades and junior high school.

Program 6

READING

Strategic Considerations

The entire academic curriculum of the schools is built on the expectation that the child can read; indeed, the world outside of school expects this too. Not only is the ability to read a necessity in each of the subject areas as a key to the content, but the ability to read and understand instructions and explanations is essential throughout the child's school experience.

The rewards of the school system for academic achievement are accessible only to those who can perform adequately in reading. Reading is one aspect of role performance where the expectation is very clearly perceived by the child and where failure to perform is equally evident to him. When the child fails to perform in reading, he is often discouraged and seeks to withdraw from the demands of the school system. By the same token, the student's failure to read and his inevitable failure to learn the specific content in a subject area frequently tend to discourage the teacher. The discouraged teacher may lower his expectations and reduce his demands on the student with the result that teacher and student withdraw further and further from attempting to meet expectations of each other.

The widespread problem of reading deficiencies cannot be fully met by having remedial reading teachers work with individual or small groups of students. The most practical and educationally desirable approach is to help classroom teachers develop the students' reading abilities in all subject areas. Developmental reading programs will therefore make use of qualified reading consultants to help teachers create a reading-oriented program and atmosphere throughout the school.

The Program (Reading Consultation in Elementary Schools)

Two reading consultants will be assigned to each of the three elementary schools. They will work as consultants to individual teachers and groups of teachers. Approximately one-fifth of their time will be spent in enrichment classes with selected groups of able students. During the first year, Grades V and VI in each of the three demonstration schools will participate in the program; during the second, Grade IV will be added.

The establishment of this program will involve the breakdown of traditional class and grade confines and will necessitate the formation of homogeneous ability reading groups from the combined pupil personnel of grades five and six. Pupils will take a standardized reading test at the beginning of school. After the results are analyzed, the top ability groups in reading will include pupils from grade five as well as six, and lower ability groups will include sixth grade pupils.

The major responsibilities of the reading consultants will be as resource, reinforcement and demonstration agents to classroom teachers. The bulk of their time will be spent not as teachers of students, but as catalysts who help teachers devise more effective teaching materials and methods.

The specific objectives of the Reading Consultation Program are:

1. To improve reading skills in the content areas (i.e. science, history and geography);

2. To develop specific skills in the following directions: retention, organizing materials, discovering main ideas, using reference books and library facilities as a means of improving students' ability to understand, judge and use ideas and information encountered in reading.

Meeting five times per week for 70 minutes each, elementary classes in reading will have a curriculum built around the SRA Reading Laboratories, SRA Reading for Understanding Series, and the EDL Controlled Reader and Work Study Skills programs. The combination of these curricula is especially appropriate to the objectives of the proposed concentrated reading program. Through the use of these materials, the curriculum will include:

1. Attention to career patterns, jobs, and future time orientation;

2. Attention to the development of attitudes and values conducive to success in work and social situations; and,

3. Attention to information and specific means of improving conditions of every day living.

It is anticipated that this program will develop and improve reading skills in comprehension, speed, context clues, and the phonetic approach, as well as the general aptitude and interest. Smaller classes, added time, ability grouping and individualized diagnostics are expected to improve reading performances and ability in the participating schools.

Enrichment Program - The reading consultant will work directly with a group of 15-20 of the ablest students for an enrichment program in literature. These pupils are to be selected by the homeroom teachers on the basis of general academic performance, success in reading as demonstrated on the reading achievement tests, and consideration of the I.R. or I.Q. scores.

The reading consultant will meet with this group of children for forty minutes, once a week, to discuss an outstanding book which these children will be expected to read during the week. Approximately 25 books will be read by each pupil during the year. Tape recordings will be used so that the discussions may be shared with the regular classes. Each child in the enrichment program will have frequent opportunities to participate in individual and group projects and to share in the presentation of assembly programs and special programs for parents.

The objectives of the Enrichment Program are:

1. To increase student familiarity with and interest in good literature in their personal reading habits.
2. To demonstrate that a controlled enrichment reading program improves student abilities in written and oral communication.

Developmental Reading in Junior High Schools - A program of developmental reading now being carried on at the Robert Gould Shaw Junior High School in a middle class section of West Roxbury integrates reading instruction into the total school curriculum so that all faculty and pupils participate in the program.

After students are grouped according to reading test scores, a program is tailored to their needs, using textbooks, workbooks, discussions, special equipment, creative activities and programmed instruction. The Shaw program has demonstrated improvement at all levels in basic reading skills.

All pupils take a standardized reading test as the basis for grouping. Each grade has a low group which requires remedial work on an individualized basis; each child is guided in the part or parts of the reading procedure which he has failed to master, e.g. phonics, work recognition, cone context clues, etc. The estimated reading grade of the lowest group is two years or more below grade. Other groups range from one year below grade to a year above grade. The highest group consists of students who read at least one and one-half years above grade.

A special program is carried out for each group. Regular reading drills are held to increase their reading rate and comprehension. Textbooks and workbooks are carefully chosen and used only in this program. A story is used every sixth week to stimulate appreciation and enjoyment of good literature. There is a weekly class in speech and diction. No home lessons are required; however, the program has been found to lead to increased outside reading.

Special equipment includes tape recorders, controlled readers, rateometers, tachistoscopes, overhead and opaque projectors, EDL listening tapes, programmed instruction and SRA Reading Lab.

Creative work is planned by the gifted group. Some of their activities include school assembly productions, a school newspaper, original poetry writing, and school-wide exhibits.

In addition to an improvement in basic reading skill, the program has demonstrated improvements in comprehension, skill in locating information and using the dictionary, skill in remembering details, and an appreciation of style.

The Boston School Department will establish Developmental Reading programs in three selected Junior High Schools. These programs will be in effect for three years. The Robert G. Shaw plan will be utilized with modifications to meet the specific needs of the school and the area served as follows:

The Shaw program will be adopted in its entirety in two schools. Faculty participation as in the Shaw program will be maintained. A permanent reading teacher in charge of this program will be added to the faculty in each school.

The R. G. Shaw program will be established as follows in one school:

1. Two permanent reading consultants for the first year; three for the second year, and four for the fourth year.
2. Two specific reading periods a week.
3. These reading consultants will teach Developmental and Remedial Reading techniques to classroom teachers.
4. This program will be incorporated in a school where Guidance Advisors and a School Adjustment Counselor will also be placed.

Equipment and text books will be the same for all schools. The program will be implemented as follows:

1963-64	3 schools	one grade (7)	750 pupils
1964-65	3 schools	two grades (7 and 8)	1,500 pupils
1965-66	3 schools	three grades (7-8-9)	2,250 pupils

The proposed program will emphasize the development of the skills required for reading success. Accuracy in comprehension, organizational ability, increased vocabulary, the ability to summarize, the ability to make a critical evaluation of the material read, the ability to locate information, the ability to research, the mastering of new literary styles, the development of an appreciation of style are some of the anticipated achievements. In addition, selectivity of the reading rate must be considered. The pupil must acquire the ability to preview, to scan, to skim and finally to acquire proper reading and study habits.

Objectives and Evaluation of the Elementary and Junior High School Reading Programs

The objectives for these programs are to assist pupils (1) to strengthen reading vocabulary, (2) to increase reading comprehension, (3) to adjust reading technique and speed so that they are appropriate to the content of the printed material, (4) to learn to follow directions, (5) to improve in organizing materials, (6) to learn to discover main ideas in reading, (7) to learn to use reference books and to locate information in the library, and (8) to read critically.

4

The developmental reading approach involves the school's total curriculum and, therefore, does not permit randomized selection of the experimental and control groups for research purposes. The experimental groups for the first year, therefore, will include all the fifth and sixth grade students in the three elementary schools included in the program and all the seventh grade students in the three junior high schools. The program will be expanded to include fourth grade students and eighth and ninth grade students in the second and third years of the demonstration period.

Measures of changes in the reading ability of the experimentals will be obtained by administering a series of reading tests, some by the research staff of this project. The Metropolitan Intermediate Reading Test is given to all Boston Public School students in the sixth grade and the Iowa Silent Reading Elementary Test is given to all eighth grade students. The former will also be given to all fifth grade students in the experimental elementary schools (and to students selected as fifth and sixth grade controls by procedures described below). The Iowa Silent Reading Elementary Test will also be given to all the seventh grade students in the experimental junior high schools (and to students selected as seventh and eighth grade controls by procedures described below). These tests will all be administered to the students before the program begins. In addition, the California Reading Test will be administered to all the seventh grade students in the three junior high schools in the first year and to the eighth and ninth grade students in those schools in succeeding years.

These reading tests include components which will provide measures for each of the objectives of the program--particularly those involving specific reading skills. These measures will be obtained prior to the program and every May during the demonstration period. The difference between the "before" and "after" scores will provide the basis for judgments as to whether changes in reading skill have taken place.

In order to determine whether the improvement in reading skills--if in fact such improvement does take place--can be attributed to the developmental reading program, the experimental populations will be matched with control populations of students in the same grades and with similar characteristics. In addition to performance tests, I.Q., and other information available from the school records, the California

Test of Mental Maturity and the Otis Quick Scoring Mental Ability Test will be given to the experimental and control students in both the elementary and junior high school populations for purposes of matching the experimental and control cases.

In order to be able to repeat the program if it works or avoid or modify it if it does not, the research design will include observations of the program in action. Since the program is based on the use of reading consultants, the observations will focus on the behavior of these consultants and the teachers with whom they consult. The observations will be made through analyses of tape recordings and films in an effort to determine whether there are significant differences in teaching and presentation styles of the consultants and whether these differences in turn affect teacher performance.

As with each of its programs, the Boston Youth Opportunities Project is concerned with whether it can produce certain changes and whether these changes, when they occur, are followed by a reduction of law violating behavior. The research plan outlined here deals only with the former, i.e., whether the reading skills of students in the Study Area--skills which are believed to be important prerequisites to proper role performance--can be improved by direct intervention. The research procedures devised to measure whether improved skills are related to reductions in law-violating behavior are described in Chapter VI of this proposal.

Annual Budget

Elementary Schools	
6 Consultants @ $8,500	$51,000
Books	3,000
Program Materials	6,000
Sub-Total	$60,000
Junior High Schools	
SCHOOL A One Teacher	$ 8,500
B One Teacher	8,500
C Two Teachers	17,000
Three Teachers	
Four Teachers	
Equipment	6,000
Books	3,000
Sub-total	$43,000
Program Specialist (half-time)	5,000
TOTAL-------	$108,000

Evaluation

The budget for the evaluation of the Reading Program is part of an over-all budget for the evaluation of the first four school programs. Details are included in the Budget preceding Appendix A.

Program 7

GUIDANCE ADVISORS IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Strategic Considerations

A markedly lower proportion of youth in the Study Area acquires the education and training that equip them for skilled and remunerative occupations than is the case in the more advantaged parts of the city. This would indicate that there is a substantial loss and waste of potential ability in the disadvantaged areas.

Many of these youngsters see no connection between their present school experience and the career worlds they will enter in the future. Moreover, many are hindered from setting and achieving educational and vocational goals by their present failure in school and by such problems as truancy and disruptive behavior.

A junior high school student's present achievement in school and in other aspects of his role performance can be influenced by his understanding of (1) his own interests and capacities, (2) future employment opportunities, and (3) the relevance of employment requirements to his present school performance and to his planning for appropriate training and education. In other words, this future orientation may have a direct bearing on his present behavior.

Since identity formation begins early in life, it is particularly important that these youngsters be aware of the relationship between school performance and career lines in order to help them strive toward roles and careers which their environment may not support. Through a more thorough knowledge of their own abilities and aptitudes and a more realistic orientation to the world of work, these youngsters can be helped to understand the vital role of education as necessary preparation for whatever future they envision for themselves. Students in the upper elementary grades and the Junior High School need to be helped toward this goal.

The objectives of the program are:

1. To reduce the failure rate and improve academic performance among students in selected schools.
2. To reduce the proportion of youngsters exposed to the guidance program who later drop out of school at age 16.
3. To reduce the proportion who drop out of school and are unemployed.

4. To increase the proportion of Junior High School students who complete high school.
5. To increase the proportion of students who later enter college.

The Program

A team of three Guidance Advisors and one School Adjustment Counselor will conduct the Junior High School guidance program. The advisors will divide their time between work with students and with teachers. Students will receive personal counseling and guidance through frequent discussions with their advisors concerning problems they may have at home, in school or in the community. Either the student or the counselor may initiate these discussions. Special problems requiring home visits, contacts with parents and agency services will be the particular focus of the School Adjustment Counselor, collaborating with the team of Guidance Advisors.

Much of the advisors' impact in this demonstration project will depend upon the extent to which they can apprise teachers of student learning problems and have this knowledge assist teachers in their selection of methods, materials and emphasis within the regular classroom. To accomplish this, Guidance Advisors will hold regular sessions with individual teachers and groups of teachers to discuss and re-define their combined and specialized services to students. A major purpose here is to weave teaching materials which enhance student understanding of both present and future opportunities and responsibilities into the elementary and Junior High curricula. In addition, students will be exposed to adult models with whom they can identify.

Annual Budget

4 Guidance Advisors	@ $8,500	$34,000
Secretary	@ 4,500	4,500
Sub-Total		$38,500
Program Specialist (half-time)		5,000
	TOTAL--------	$43,500

Program 8

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT COUNSELING

Strategic Considerations:

Students and parents who are handicapped by physical or emotional problems or by other environmental difficulties cannot adequately fulfill the expectations they have of each other or respond to the expectations of others in the community. This program is designed to remove or lessen these impediments to satisfactory role performance.

Many elementary school children in the disadvantaged areas of Boston manifest serious emotional, behavioral, or environmental problems which hinder the child's performance in school and often negate the value of the school's educational environment. These children are victims of a home and neighborhood environment which causes problems for them which cannot be ameliorated by the usual school resources.

These children come from broken homes, caused by death or desertion; homes where prolonged physical and mental illness causes the absence of one or another parent; homes where parents quarrel violently and where there is excessive drinking; homes where mothers and fathers both work a great part of the week giving insufficient attention to the needs of the children. Such factors are associated with inconsistent up-bringing, poor models for identification, and devaluation of educational goals for the child. Children from these families often show such symptoms as antagonistic behavior in school, abusiveness to other students and lack of respect for authority, aggressive, hyper-active behavior, temper tantrums, sadistic acts, and obscenity before peers and teachers. In the later grades especially there is a good deal of truancy and often court appearances on charges relating to delinquent acts.

Another group of children from in-migrant families enter the public schools at various grade levels. These children have come to Boston from the South, from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other foreign nations. For these children, the problems of acculturation are intense, and in those instances where there are emotional problems the child's difficulties are severely multiplied.

The Program

Three tasks are involved in meeting these problems: (1) consultation with teachers to assist them to understand and cope with the problems that daily confront them in the classroom, (2) direct services to children and their families, and (3) mobilizing the health and welfare resources of the community to work cooperatively with the schools on the needs and problems of these children and their families.

The Boston schools are severely limited in carrying out the first and second tasks by the fact that there are only 10 School Adjustment Counselors in the school system. Slightly over 1% of the school population was referred to these counselors during the 1961-62 school year. It is estimated that in the Study Area schools the need for these services could be as much as 20% of the school population.

Experimentation is needed to carry out the task of mobilizing community resources. While some short-term services can be obtained from social agencies, management and treatment programs of a long-term nature are much less available. These include family case work, psychiatric service, temporary foster placement and temporary in-patient care of children under severe emotional stress. New methods and structural arrangements need to be devised not only to plan short-term and long-term services in a systematic and coordinated fashion, but to bring agency workers into direct contact with the school situation and school personnel.

The objectives of this program are:

1. To improve the school performance and school behavior of children identified by the school as manifesting problems which interfere with the child's learning.

2. To reduce delinquent behavior and truancy among children so identified.

Three school Adjustment Counselors will be assigned to elementary schools and a fourth counselor will be assigned to the Junior High School in which the new guidance and developmental reading programs are being instituted. Referrals to the School Adjustment Counselor will include children manifesting symptoms indicating emotional behavior or environmental problems; "in-migrant" children; children returning from Youth Board placements, foster placements, and prolonged hospitalizations. Other referrals will be made as classroom teachers, custodial staff, attendance officers and others detech children in need of such referral. The School Adjustment Counselor will be free to recommend referral of any children deemed in need of such referral but not referred by other sources.

The School Adjustment Counselor will:

1. Consult with school principals and teachers to increase the effectiveness of such personnel in dealing with the child in the classroom.
2. Stress early detection by encouraging referrals from school personnel; make intensive diagnoses of problems; develop relationships with children

and their families in order to provide necessary services.

3. Develop the school as an "outpost" for selected community social welfare services, making it possible for such services to use the school as a base for operations and opening intensified liaison with the school principal and classroom teacher. Through the placement of other agency field workers in the selected school districts, the social welfare services will be more accessible to School Adjustment Counselors in the case of referrals and agency workers will gain insight and understanding from seeing the child and his family in the school environment. Such an interaction program visualized the use of the School Adjustment Counselor's office for regularly held diagnostic and planning meetings among concerned agency personnel and determination of management and treatment programs.

Annual Budget

4 School Adjustment Counselors @ $9,300	$37,200
Secretary (full-time)	4,500
Secretary (half-time)	2,500
Sub-Total	$44,200
Program Specialist (half-time)	5,000
TOTAL--------	$49,200

Program 9

PRE-KINDERGARTEN CLASSES

Strategic Considerations

Studies dealing with educational problems in our society document that, in general, lower educational achievement levels are related to lower income levels. There is good reason to believe that membership in culturally and economically deprived groups involves experiences or the lack of them which severely handicap the child in his ability to take advantage of the school environment.

Increasingly, children registered for kindergarten and first grade in the Study Area are manifesting unreadiness in the learning and socializing skills required for effective learning at their age levels. It is felt that their cultural deprivation causes retardation in the subsequent learning process and that this distorts evaluation of their potential. The impact of this retardation may be delayed until the child has reached the upper elementary grades.

The child who has never had an opportunity to correct verbal and reading difficulties caused by insufficient early preparation in the home or school program is often diverted out of the academic mainstream, irrespective of his aspirations or capacities. Any thoughts he may have about pursuing an academic program are considered unreal and are doomed in the face of an academic record which shows partial or complete failure. Many such children never reach this point. Discouraged by their inability to keep up with their peers, some drop out at the first opportunity and others may end up in special classes or may deceptively appear mentally retarded.

The Program

The child and his parents may need help in preparing for the child's entrance into school. Lacking the necessary skills, the child often begins a career of failure in his first year or two in the school system. Just as the Youth Training and Employment Program will be measured in this Project by the effects produced on younger brothers, this program can be expected to have an impact primarily through the parents on the older brothers of children participating in pre-kindergarten classes.

Recognizing the lack of early preparation as a serious barrier to future educational achievement, special programs are required to prepare such children for the school experience ahead of them. Children will be selected for this program who are found to be disadvantaged to an extent requiring special attention and who are not mentally retarded or emotionally disturbed.

The primary objective of the program is to attain for such children the cognitive skills and school behavior patterns which are determined to be, in general, normal and adequate for children of their age, taking into account individual differences.

The program rests, in part, on the assumption that parental support and involvement are essential to maximize the benefits to the children participating in the pre-kindergarten classes.

Four pre-kindergarten classes, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, in facilities located in two Study Area school districts will be established. Each class will serve a maximum of twenty children, with one senior teacher and one assistant. They will be conducted for two hour periods five days a week for the school year.

1. A curriculum will be devised to provide socializing and educational experiences commensurate with the age level and needs of the children.

Techniques aimed at increasing the child's cognitive skills and capacity for conceptual thinking will be included. Increased ability will be sought in verbal skills, auditory and visual discrimination, motor coordination, rhythm and timing. Such learning experiences are intimately associated with the more complicated learning processes which these children will face later in school.

2. School faculty will be involved in continuous training and curriculum refinement through the aid of consultants. An intensive orientation program will be conducted prior to the opening of the pre-kindergarten program and will focus on the neighborhood, its children, their parents and problems. The specialized curriculum and research aspects of the program also will be examined in depth prior to their implementation in the classrooms.
3. Senior teachers will spend half of their time in developing meaningful and long-term relationships with parents so that an effective bridge

can be built between what takes place in the pre-kindergarten classes and at home.

Annual Budget

Senior Teacher	$ 9,000
Teachers 3 @ $8,000	24,000
Assistant Teachers 2 @ $5,000	10,000
Program Supplies and Equipment	4,000
Use of Facilities	2,000
Sub-Total	$49,000
Program Specialist (two-fifths time)	2,000
TOTAL----------	$51,000

Program 10

WORK-STUDY

Strategic Considerations

This program is designed to clarify the youth's knowledge of work roles, both his own and the roles of others in the job situation. It also seeks to give the student knowledge of the important relationship between academic skills and work performance. Through actual experience on a job, hopefully the student learns to perform some of the general requirements of the work role--honesty, reliability, responsibility, loyalty as well as technical skills used in particular industries and occupations. The program, in addition, is designed to give the student experience with role relationships as they operate as a system in a work setting.

The number of dropouts from the Boston Public Schools has been estimated at 1600 - 1700 a year. The personal and social consequences of dropping-out of school before completing high school have been so widely recognized that they do not need to be repeated here.

The Program

This work-study program for prospective dropouts is a preventive program, aimed at reducing the incidence of dropouts among students whose dropout potential is recognized early.

Teachers at the junior and senior high school levels will administer a "dropout profile" to students 14 to 16 years of age who are manifesting behavior characteristic of the prospective dropout. This initial step, together with aptitude tests, the judgment of the guidance counselor and school principal, and a consultation with the parents, will determine whether the student would be placed in the work-study program.

Where an affirmative decision is reached, the student will then be assigned, under the supervision of a "teacher-coordinator", to a special schedule placing less emphasis on academic education and more on on-the-job training. Approximately half of the day will be spent in a classroom and the balance of the day in an employment setting which stresses training as well as production.

The student's classroom curriculum will include reading, English, math, and social studies, geared wherever possible to the practical world of work rather than to academic goals. For some the school phase of the program will include shop work or training in the use of office equipment and procedures.

The training-employment phase of the program will be developed by the teacher-coordinator in cooperation with the Retail Trade Board of Boston, the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, the Personnel Managers Club and similar service organizations, in addition to the State Employment Service. Student placements would be sought in retail stores, business and professional offices, public and private social welfare agencies, small manufacturers, and medical institutions. Job finding for this program will be coordinated with the efforts of the Youth Training and Employment program. Following a stipulated time schedule, and depending on the particular training required, students will be paid wages once they become productive. The emphasis on training rather than productivity, however, will be stressed throughout.

The demonstration will involve 100 students each year.

Special efforts will be made to offer realistic employment experience, while at the same time tailoring the program to individual aptitudes and requirements. Moreover, frequent reviews of individual student progress will make it possible to identify the individual whose particular work-study program needs readjustment or who, perhaps, should be returned to the regular school program.

In the implementation of this and other public school programs that have not yet been funded and initiated, program personnel from the Project will be assigned to work with the public schools to develop the details of the program, to design a training program for the staff, and to conduct a program audit during the life of the Project. Half of the time of a program specialist on the Project staff will be devoted to this program.

Research personnel will be assigned from the Project to design and carry out an evaluation of the effectiveness of the program in reducing the dropout rate among 14-16 year old students exposed to the program. A detailed research design, similar in scope and method to the evaluation design described above in connection with the Youth Training and Employment program, will be developed.

Annual Budget

Director	$ 10,000
4 Teacher-Coordinators @$8,500	34,000
4 Teachers @ $7,500	30,000
Secretary	4,000
Rent	6,000
Supplies and Equipment	6,000
Telephone, travel, etc.	1,000
Sub-Total	$ 91,000
Program Specialist	5,000
Research	15,000
TOTAL------	$111,000

Program 11

TUTORING

Strategic Considerations

One purpose of the program is to increase the individual's skill as a student, making it possible for him to perform and respond more appropriately to the teacher in the classroom. Another aim is to increase the skill of teachers, acting as tutors, in relating to youngsters who are not performing adequately in school and in getting subject matter across to them. These are two aspects of her role as teacher.

The basic assumption underlying this proposal is that a pattern of repeated failure in school is not necessarily a function or an indication of a lack of innate ability. It is assumed that youngsters who are achieving below grade level can be helped to raise their achievement if they receive help in addition to classroom teaching.

The Program

At the present time there are tutoring programs of varying quality being carried out under the auspices of settlement houses, churches and other facilities throughout the city. These were organized as stop-gaps pending the assumption of this responsibility by the public school system. A school-based program is proposed here as a demonstration to test the feasibility and effectiveness of carrying out tutoring services under public school auspices.

Individual students performing below grade level in elementary school will be identified by teachers and principals in the demonstration schools. For each of these students an individual program of after-school tutoring will be developed.

Skilled teachers will supervise the tutors in methods and materials being used in the classrooms. The tutors will work with individual students, using school and community facilities. Tutors periodically will report problems and progress to the supervising teacher, who in turn will act as liaison with each youngster's classroom or subject matter teaching.

The program will remain flexible: youngsters will begin and end their tutorials as their achievement improves on standardized tests and is sustained in the regular classroom. Consultations between the supervising teacher and the tutor will determine a youngster's entry into/or exit from a tutorial program.

The Program will be implemented in one elementary school district in Roxbury, one school district in the South End, and one school district in Charlestown. Forty tutors will work in each school district. Each tutor will have two groups of three students, who will meet for one hour after school twice weekly. In each district, therefore, 240 students will participate in the program at any one time, or 720 students in the three districts. However, students will move into and out of the program as their school achievement improves, so that the actual number in excess of 720 to be involved in the program over a one-year period will depend on how long individual students remain in the program.

Twenty teachers and twenty college students, parents and high school students will form the team of forty tutors in each district. The Program Supervisor will have over-all responsibility for coordinating the program.

Annual Budget

	One School*	Three Schools
Program Supervisor @ $7/hr.	$ 1,008	$ 3,024
Travel	200	600
Tutors		
20 Teachers @ $5/hr.	14,400	43,200
20 College Students, Parents, etc. @ $3.50/hr. (includes transportation)	10,080	30,240
Supplies and Equipment	2,000	6,000
Custodial Help @ $4/hr.	576	1,728
Sub-Total	$28,264	$ 84,792
Program Specialist		3,000
Research		15,000
GRAND TOTAL		$102,792

Program 12

ABILITY IDENTIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Strategic Considerations

One aspect of role performance by elementary school age youngsters is the exploration of their own interests and talents and of the opportunities for developing them. The discovery and development of the child's interests can be expected to have a re-inforcing effect on his performance in school and to stimulate his planning for future education and his work career. This program seeks also to strengthen the teacher's role as an interested, helping person in the eyes of the child.

---

*All personnel are scheduled to participate in the program four days a week or 144 hours per school year.

Youngsters from disadvantaged families have limited opportunities to achieve success. At home, in the community, and at school they encounter so many problems that mere survival, rather than development of individual potential, becomes a major life goal. Frequently, seeing no future for themselves through educational advancement, they become unresponsive to the challenges or routines provided by school.

The Program

This program would provide a greatly-widened range of activities in the classroom and opportunities for youngsters to develop and pursue their interests individually or in small groups after school and on Saturdays. Through such opportunities, it is hoped that these youngsters can discover and exploit their talents and in so doing will increase their interest in what the educational system has to offer them

A three-fold program is proposed to accomplish these objectives in the regular classroom setting, after-school activities, and Saturday sessions.

Resource teachers in each of the subject areas will conduct a two-week intensive orientation period for classroom teachers in the demonstration schools, followed by once-a-week follow-up and exploration sessions. These sessions will focus on ways of recognizing and channeling the overt and the latent talent shown by children and on activities geared to provoking and sustaining student interest in the classroom. This orientation phase has as its objective an enriched classroom curriculum and a significantly sharpened perception of students' abilities by teachers.

This would be the starting point for building on the interests of students. One might be fascinated by rockets; learning more about them could be the way to kindling that child's interest in improving his reading ability. Others might show interest in music or dancing, sketching or dramatics, growing plants and flowers, building models or moulding with clay. Whatever the interest, it can be cultivated.

On the basis of interest revealed in the classroom, individual youngsters will be encouraged to explore and develop their interests or hobbies in after-school sessions with teachers. A corps of teachers will be recruited and paid in each demonstration school to plan projects and activities with individual students, with special materials and equipment available for their use. Teachers will work with responsive and non-responsive students in the after-school sessions. A coordinating teacher will supervise this program, emphasizing the improvement of student-teacher projects and coordinating the efforts of teachers working in similar project areas.

The Saturday program will operate in the schools and the Greater Boston community. The coordinating teacher will develop with the after-school teachers a variety of special-interest sessions conducted by teachers and other specialized personnel. Responsive and unresponsive youngsters will be encouraged to participate in four to six Saturday sessions which will include, for example, instructional classes in music, science, related field and cultural trips, and further individual talent development.

To assure against the loss of developed or promising interest, a referral program is proposed. The coordinating teacher, at the end of each youngster's Saturday sessions, will hold a conference with the youngster and establish contact with sources of further talent development in the community. It is hoped that scholarship funds will be available to help youngsters, where necessary, pursue their interests in this way.

Throughout each of the three phases of this project, changes in the school behavior and achievement of participating youngsters will be carefully assessed to determine the impact of the project.

The program will be inaugurated in one elementary school district in Roxbury, one elementary school district in Charlestown, and one elementary school in the South End.

Annual Budget

	One School*	Three Schools
Program Supervisor	$ 1,000	$ 3,000
5 Resource Teachers	5,400	16,200
18 Regular Teachers @ $6/day (3 from each grade level.)	16,200	48,600
1 Custodian @ $4/day	720	2,160
Materials, Trips, Other Expenses	4,000	12,000
Sub-Total	$27,320	$ 81,960
Program Specialist		5,000
Research		15,000
TOTAL		$101,960

---

*All personnel are scheduled to participate in the program 5 days a week or 180 hours per school year.

Program 13

HOME-SCHOOL LIAISON

Strategic Considerations

Parents who are not able to understand, encourage and support their children's performance in school are themselves failing to perform their parental roles. Many parents in culturally disadvantaged areas need the help of the school to provide support for their children, particularly when their children are involved in remedial efforts to upgrade their school achievement. Strengthening the parents' role performance in this regard can be expected to reinforce the child's ability to meet the demands made upon him.

The relationship between parents and the school is of vital importance to the school performance of the child. Both parents and school personnel are concerned about the inadequacy of that relationship with respect to many families in the Study Area.

Home to school visiting for consideration of specific problems is unquestionably of high value when such contacts are effected. Unfortunately, many school administrators and teachers find this approach of limited value because many parents do not respond to the request to make visits to the school or are not able after making such visits to implement suggested methods for improving a particular situation.

Through many of the school programs proposed for this Project runs a common denominator--the importance of parental involvement and support for the efforts to help the child achieve more satisfactory performance in school. Each of the programs seeks the cooperation of the parents on the one hand, and on the other hand hopes to infuse both child and parents with an interest in the benefits of adequate and enriched education. In the final analysis, the programs are based on a recognition of the low motivation for learning and the lack of skill on the part of many youth and their parents.

Opportunities to improve home-school inter-action are inherent in these programs. Indeed, the success of the new programs themselves will depend to a considerable extent on the ability of the schools to involve the parents in carrying out the programs.

The Program

A Bureau of Home-School Liaison will be established. The staff will combine the skills needed in a program designed to strengthen parent-teacher communication and cooperation.

Each of the new programs requires that parents be informed of the nature, extent, limitations and scope of the programs to which their children will be exposed. The very act of launching the programs and their experimental nature and limitations may produce parent reactions ranging from intensive interest to overt hostility. Clarification of the programs will need to be intensive and continuous and will call for involvement of personnel directly engaged in implementing the programs. The Bureau of Home-School Liaison, however, will assume a major responsibility for contacts with parents. Located centrally and easily accessible, it would be a place to which parents could come or could be referred by the various school program departments to learn more about the programs.

The Bureau will be open two or three evenings a week for parents who work during the day. Beyond this, the staff will make home visits and will arrange day and evening neighborhood group meetings at the homes of various parents to explain programs, to encourage closer liaison with the schools and to deal with questons raised by parents.

The personnel of the Bureau will also be able to identify parents who need and desire educational instruction for themselves and will be in a position to arrange for these parents to participate in classes to upgrade their skills in reading, writing, mathematics and other subjects.

Annual Budget

Director	$10,000
6 Home visitors and group leaders @ $8,500	51,000
Sub-Total	$61,000
Program Specialist (part-time)	2,000
Research	10,000
TOTAL------	$73,000

Program 14

CAMP-SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Strategic Considerations

The purpose of the first two programs described below is to improve academic skills and to reinforce the youngsters' understanding of role systems by exposing them to adults performing tasks as teachers and as camp counselors.

The Program

Two summer camp programs will test the value of taking students, 9 to 13 years old, from their home and school environments and giving them a combined school-camp experience. Children will be selected on the basis of failure to achieve in school. The objective of the program is to improve their school performance through remedial instruction during their camp experience.

A unique feature in orienting youth to the camps will be used to test directly one of the notions in the rationale of this Project. Most of the time,youngsters who meet the criteria for selection for this program, are told, in various settings, what is expected of them, what they can do, what they must not do. Little emphasis is placed on what they can expect from the adults who, in the final analysis, are there to serve and protect them. An orientation to camp will be based on the staff's explaining their duties, responsibilities and their working relationships to each other. The emphasis would be on clarifying adult roles for the children rather than stressing the behavior expected from the children.

At Agassiz Village, a camp affiliated with United Community Services and located in West Portland, Maine, 156 boys can be enrolled for four weeks and 32 boys for eight weeks. The objectives are to:

1. Improve reading skills through remedial reading classes.
2. Improve speaking abilities through participation in dramatics, campfire programs, et al.

3. Improve writing skills through newspaper reporting.
4. Encourage selected children to work for higher educational goals through direct contact with interested adult leaders.

In addition to normal camp activities, formal remedial classes will be conducted by qualified teachers to improve reading and communication skills. Language arts teachers will conduct dramatic activities and will direct the publication of a newspaper in order to improve speaking, reading and writing abilities.

At the Boston YMCA camp in Halifax, Massachusetts, 50 boys who meet the criteria of school failure and cultural disadvantage will work and play within a camp serving 110 youngsters. Rather than holding formal classes, this demonstration will place increased emphasis on the language arts, communication skills, and basic arithmetic through recreational activities designed to make learning practical and enjoyable in an out-of-doors setting.

A plan for applying these program goals through selected activities can be illustrated by the following examples.

a) Developing and keeping accurate statistical data in weather forecasting through a nature project.

b) The involvement of campers in developing range safety rules for archery and riflery by making charts and posters for display in program.

c) Use of written step-by-step directions on a craft project.

d) Developing an individual understanding of natural laws through their application in activities such as sailing and swimming.

e) Addition and subtraction skills used in keeping archery and rifle scores.

f) Menu-planning for quantities of food on a cabin overnight camping trip.

g) Use of a compass and charts during hiking or trip planning.

A third program will be undertaken in a camp, but with distinct differences from the two outlined above. Boys and Girls Camp, Inc., in Duxbury, maintains The Stockade, a replica of an old Colonial fort of log construction. Fifty boys, ages 14-18, who are in conflict with school, police or parents, will be taken to the camp for weekends and school holidays throughout the year. The program would stress vigorous acitivities, both work and recreation, and would involve close contact with competent adult leaders. A tangible incentive will be the opportunity to be selected and employed to work during the summer in one of the six camps operated by Boys and Girls Camps, Inc. Fifty boys will spend 21 days at camp on school holidays and 15 boys will spend an additional 21 days on weekends at camp.

Program and research personnel from the Project will work with the three camps on the development, implementation and evaluation of the programs.

Annual Budget

1. Agassiz Village	
Camperships (752 camper weeks @ $40)	$30,080
3 Remedial reading teachers @ $600	1,800
2 Language arts teachers @ $600	1,200
Coordinator	1,200
Supplies	1,000
Sub-Total	$35,280
2. YMCA Camp	
20 8-week camperships @ $320	6,400
30 4-week camperships @ $170	5,100
Coordinator	1,200
Pre-season staff orientation	1,500
Materials and supplies	500
Clerical assistance	300
Sub-Total	$15,000
3. Boys and Girls Camp	
Leadership salaries	5,250
Cooks' salaries	480
Commissary	2,500
Transportation	950
Program supplies	500
Administration	650
Insurance, repairs	550
Laundry and incidental expenses	500
Fuel, light, power, etc.	800
Sub-Total	$12,180
Program Specialist	1,000
Research	15,000
TOTAL-------	$78,460

Program 15

COLLEGE CAMPUS SUMMER PROGRAM

Strategic Considerations

A large percentage of able disadvantaged youngsters either do not complete high school or do not seek education beyond high school. Some may have been required to help in providing family support by obtaining steady employment. Some may have been discouraged by the slight returns which college graduate friends or family members may have realized. Some may have felt that post-high school training was desirable but financially impossible. Others may have known very little about college life or its potential rewards. Others may have chosen or gravitated toward a particular high school curriculum unaware of the subsequent effects of this choice on admission to post high school programs. Still others may have withdrawn psychologically from involvement in the junior and senior high programs because little, if anything, appealed to their realistic or unrealistic interests.

Opportunities to explore and develop individual interests and simultaneously to gain first-hand knowledge of a college--its teachers, its students, its facilities and its life--can have the effect of motivating able but underachieving students to improve their school performance and to seek post high school education. This program seeks positive role changes through more adequate knowledge of self and of education as a means of self-realization.

The Program

On the basis of school grades, achievement tests, I.Q. scores and teacher and principal recommendations, 100 able but under-achieving students from grades 9, 10, and 11 in Roxbury, the South End and Charlestown schools will be identified and encouraged to participate in the program.

For these students, a college campus program is proposed, using the faculty, students and facilities of the college, as well as the educational and cultural offerings of the Greater Boston community. The program will be in operation five days a week for eight weeks.

A two-week period of exploration, socialization, fun and varied cultural and academic exposure will begin the summer session. The group will hear lectures on different subjects by faculty members, will participate in planned recreational activities including swimming, movies, tennis, baseball, etc., will tour places of interest, and will become generally acquainted with the ten group leaders working with the program.

At the end of this two-week period, the group leaders will confer with individual students about their academic interests, on the basis of which students will be assigned for the rest of the summer to a group leader in charge of ten students.

The group leaders and the coordinator then will develop long- and short-term individual projects and programs for students for the remaining six weeks. These projects may be in art, theatre, biology, physics, horticulture, music and whatever is either available at the college or obtainable elsewhere. Through the coordinator, each group leader will be responsible for developing an individualized program for his ten students.

The program for the last six weeks will include a course for all students in writing and the reading of appropriate selections from literature in their interest areas. Large and small group excursions to colleges, museums, amusements, government agencies, local industries and educational-motivational activities also will be scheduled, along with lectures and conferences conducted by outstanding, interesting persons from the greater Boston community. In addition, group leaders will plan at least two one-hour sessions weekly, in which they and their ten students discuss and explore a subject of interest to the group. Training in group leadership will enhance each leader's capacity to help members of his group identify, discuss and respect differences in attitudes and value systems.

The coordinator will be responsible for the overall administration and operation of the program. His duties will include general orientation of the group leaders and cooperatively planning with them the program of activities for eight weeks. He will be responsible for coordinating bus schedules, arranging excursions, and obtaining visiting faculty and other personnel. He will also supervise and help group leaders as they arrange individual programs and projects with their students. During and after the project, he will cooperate with ABCD's research staff in evaluating the program.

The President, Dean of Admissions and other administrative officers of Brandeis University have expressed considerable interest in this program and committees of students and faculty have been meeting to consider this type of program. As of this writing, the

University administration has not determined the amount of University funds to be contributed.

Annual Budget

Coordinator	$ 1,500
10 Group leaders @ $200	2,000
Room for group leaders (eight weeks @ $115)	1,150
Board for group leaders (@ $25 per week)	2,000
Lunch for 100 students (40 days @ $1.25 each)	5,000
2 Busses (40 days @ $40 each per day)	3,200
40 One-hour lectures by faculty (@ $50 each)	2,000
Faculty assistant	800
Fees for excursions, admissions, pool usage, cultural incidentals (average $5 per week per child, eight weeks)	3,500
Supplies, equipment	1,500
Sub-Total	$22,650
Program Specialist	3,000
Research	10,000
TOTAL	$35,650

Program 16

SCHOLARSHIPS

Strategic Considerations

Positive incentives for performance were stressed in the rationale for this Project. The opportunity to obtain financial assistance for post high school education can be expected to increase the motivation of youngsters to perform in school as a prerequisite in obtaining this assistance. This program proposes to use scholarships as such an incentive.

Many youth from disadvantaged areas feel they cannot obtain education beyond high school. First, the reality of low family income has a defeating effect on motivation toward academic achievement. The disadvantaged youngster realizes that financial limitations may make post high school education impossible. Second, youth who are achieving adequately but not at the top of their grade are even more convinced that advanced education is impossible for them. Third, these attitudes pervade families and whole neighborhoods and result in a downgrading of the value of education generally.

The present practices of universities, colleges, and schools offering post high school education place a premium on high scholastic achievement. In being granted outright scholarships, small and large, the recipient is demanded to show high academic achievement in high school and to do well on college board examinations.

This policy among the post high school educational institutions unwittingly penalizes culturally disadvantaged youth. Youth from middle and upper class families escape this penalty because their parents often have the means to provide financial support for education. This financial support includes the opportunity to scout among several colleges or schools, until a school is found that will accept the lower scholastic achiever.

The Program:

This program is based on the assumption that an atmosphere in which youth, parents, teachers and the community as a whole know that post high school training and education are attainable is a prerequisite for motivating children toward that goal.

A program of scholarship aid will make it possible for many more youth from disadvantaged neighborhoods to obtain training and education beyond high school. This will include assistance to attend liberal arts and business colleges, technical and trade schools, and art and music schools.

The program will de-emphasize high scholastic achievement as the sole determining factor in the granting of scholarships and would recognize other factors that indicate potential.

Youth Education Assistance (YEA), a Boston organization, for several years has operated a scholarship program targeted toward youth who are school dropouts, predelinquent or delinquents. The emphasis has been on providing training for employment in business and trade occupations, with some youth being enrolled in academic institutions. This organization has shown interest in using its present machinery for the development of this proposed scholarship program which would involve carrying out the following tasks:

Colleges, universities and trade schools will be contacted to open up enrollment opportunities for disadvantaged youth, particularly for average students who might succeed with special help.

Staff will be assigned to raise new funds for scholarships and to coordinate all available information about existing scholarship opportunities.

Direct working relationships will be established between the scholarship organization and the public and parochial systems to facilitiate the recommendation of students for scholarships, although sources outside the school systems will be able to recommend individuals. A campaign of community education will be undertaken as one of the functions of the scholarship organization.

Annual Budget

Director	$ 10,000
Screening consultant	8,000
Specialist on contacts with schools	8,000
Counselor	7,500
Secretary	4,000
Tutoring services	5,000
Sub-Total	$ 47,500
First year share of $500,000 fund	100,000*
Program Specialist (part-time)	2,000
Research	7,000
TOTAL---------------	$156,500

---

*10 - 4 year college scholarships @ $6,000	$ 60,000
10 - 2 year institutional training @ $2,000	20,000
20 - 1 year institutional training @ $1,000	20,000
TOTAL--------	$100,000

CHAPTER VI

MEASURING THE IMPACT OF THE PROJECT AND TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS

The formal structure of this action-research demonstration, described in Chapter IV, consists of three sets of variables. One is the Dependent Variable of the Project -- law-violating behavior of 12 through 16 year old males residing in specific areas of Boston. This variable is also the Dependent Variable of the hypothesis the Project is designed to test. The second set -- properties of the role systems of youths -- has been referred to as the Intermediate Variable.[1] This is the Independent Variable of the Project's hypothesis, changes in which should, according to the rationale, produce the desired reduction in law-violating behavior. The third set consists of the Program Variables of the specific interventions by which it is hoped to produce changes in one or more components of the Intermediate Variable.

Therefore, the Project has two fundamental, interrelated tasks. One is to find ways to produce the intermediate changes which the hypothesis asserts will be followed by desired changes in its Dependent Variable. The second is to determine if, when such intermediate changes occur, they are in fact followed by the desired changes in the Dependent Variable.

---

[1] This variable, as the material in the previous chapter has emphasized, consists of a number of components: knowledge of role requirements, skills required for proper role performance, etc.

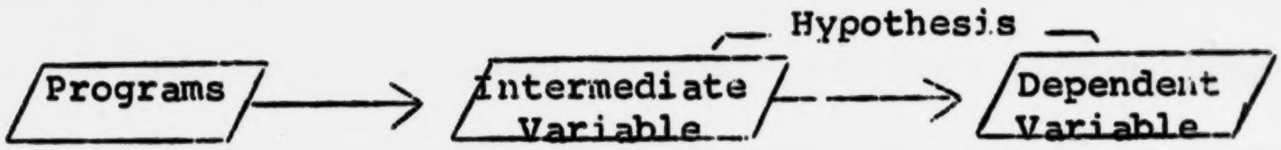
The preceding chapter of this proposal described the Project's programs and the research associated with them. That research pertained exclusively to the problems of evaluating each program in terms of its own specific objective. These problems included:

(1) The determination whether each program produced the changes it was designed to produce. This problem reduces to two related ones: (a) Whether changes occurred; and (b) if so, whether they can be attributed to the intervention. The first requires instruments to measure outcome. The second requires some kind of control group or comparison group to provide a basis for estimating what change, if any, would have taken place without the intervention.

(2) The acquisition of enough information about the program procedures so they can be repeated if

the program is successful or can be avoided or modified if the program is not successful.

Referring back to the basic structure of the action-research demonstration:



The evaluation procedures of the previous chapter were concerned with the left side of the above diagram. The testing of the Project's hypothesis, the right side of the diagram, remains to be considered.

The hypothesis asserts that changes in the Intermediate Variable will be followed by desired changes in the Project's Dependent Variable. The testing of the hypothesis does not require that the Project's interventions produce the intermediate changes, but only that they occur. The position taken here is that generally the kinds of intermediate changes desired will not occur frequently enough, unless special effort is made, to provide a basis for testing they hypothesis or for having a significant impact on the problem if the hypothesis has validity.

As described in Chapter II, the Dependent Variable of the Project consists of criminal-type acts as reflected in the records of the major law enforcement agencies. Several problems are inherent in this task of measuring *change* in this variable--that is, determining whether a *reduction* in criminal-type behavior has occurred. Reduction has to mean less than something else. The issue is: to what can this reduction be compared?

Perhaps the simplest meaning of reduction--but unsatisfactory for the purposes of this Project--is that the volume of the rate of law violation for a given area or population is lower during one period of time than during a previous time period. This might be called gross change as distinct from real change. An analogy is the distinction between gross income and profit in the business world. They can change independently of each other. The measurement of real change requires information beyond that concerning the volume or rate of law violating behavior.

Under only one set of circumstances is gross change identical with real change. The necessary conditions are:

1. The age distribution of the target population must remain the same during the two time periods.
2. The second group must be identical in characteristics to the first group; e.g., the thirteen-year olds must have the same characteristics in both time periods.
3. The individuals who move into and out of the area must have the same characteristics and t the movements occur simultaneously.

If these conditions could be met, then a change in law-violating behavior could be measured over two time periods and the change could be attributed to what had happened during the two periods. However, the assumptions listed above are ideal mathematical possibilities and virtually inconceivable in the real world. This is especially true in areas of great change, such as the Project's Study Area where major changes such as urban renewal are taking place. Over two periods of time, the specified area will undoubtedly have undergone important changes in the characteristics of its population. The amount and nature of this population change is likely to remain unknown. Changes may have occurred in the size of the population, in the proportion of the population which is male, or in the age distribution.

An observed difference in the volume of law violating behavior between two time periods may simply be a reflection of a change in the number of individuals 12 through 16 years of age living in the specified area. For example, the likelihood of an official contact with law enforcement agencies increases with age (certainly within the 7 years to 15-year old span). An increase in the volume of law-violating behavior may, therefore, simply be a reflection of an increase in the population of older boys. The change in population might also involve changes in the proportions of the population who are higher or lower risks for law-violating behavior for reasons other than age--such as, previous law violating behavior.

The enumeration of these problems suggests that comparisons of law-violating behavior by residents of an area during two periods provides a highly questionable basis for measuring the impact of a project.

The problem is no simpler if rates, rather than volume, of law-violating behavior are taken as the basis for comparison. In order to compute rates, the sizes of the populations in each age category must be known and measured frequently. And even if this information could be obtained accurately, frequently and without enormous expense, all the problems pertaining to changes in volume outlined above, except that proportions rather than numbers are involved, apply equally to the problem of changes in rates. All the same individuals are older in time period #2 than they were in time period #1 and the replacements are not necessarily like those they replaced even if they are the same age.

However, even if these arguments were not quite so compelling, the logic of the action-research framework would require the rejection of area comparisons as inadequate to test the Project's hypothesis. That logic requires, for the hypothesis to be supported, not only that the target group manifest reductions in law-violating behavior, but also that members of the target group experiencing changes in one or more components of the Intermediate Variable contribute more than their share to those reductions. Area comparisons might indicate that desired changes in both variables had occurred within the target area--although the arguments presented above suggest that such findings would be subject to serious question--but such comparisons could not answer the question of whether the same individuals were involved in the two sets of changes.

A comparison of identical populations during the same time period involves different but equally complex problems. If the differences in volume or rate are used as the basis for estimating real change, the assumption as to comparability must apply to a previous point in time as well as to the present.[1] Knowledge would have to be available concerning (a) those characteristics which are related to criminal-type behavior; and, (b) whether or not the populations were comparable with respect to those characteristics. In addition, the assumption would have to be made that the volume or rate of criminal-type behavior was identical for the two populations at some point in the past. Checking the validity of this assumption by obtaining measurement for that previous point in time, would be extremely difficult if not impossible. Even if the assumption were accepted without check, the difference in criminal-type behavior would only provide a measure of relative gross change rather than absolute real change, as desired, since all the problems pertaining to measuring real change over time--discussed above--apply here as well.

---

[1] Even if the two populations were truly comparable at one point in time, they would not necessarily be comparable at any other point in time since they are exposed to different conditions and influences and would experience different changes in membership.

Where the "identical populations" assumptions cannot be made, the problem of distinguishing between "gross" change and "real" change must be handled methodologically. This reduces to the problem of estimating the effects on the Dependent Variable of changes in the membership or the age distribution of the population. It is believed here the use of a prediction or base expectancy device gives most promise for solving the problem of gross versus real change.

This approach involves the notion of a comparison of an "observed quantity" with an "expected quantity." The observed behavior of an individual identified population is compared with the expected behavior of that same population for the same time period. Prediction instruments are, of course, also subject to methodological difficulties. However, the area rate comparison over time and other group comparisons, if sufficiently refined to be able to handle the problems listed above, also require a prediction-type instrument to be able to correct for the influences of, for example, changes in the population's age distribution.

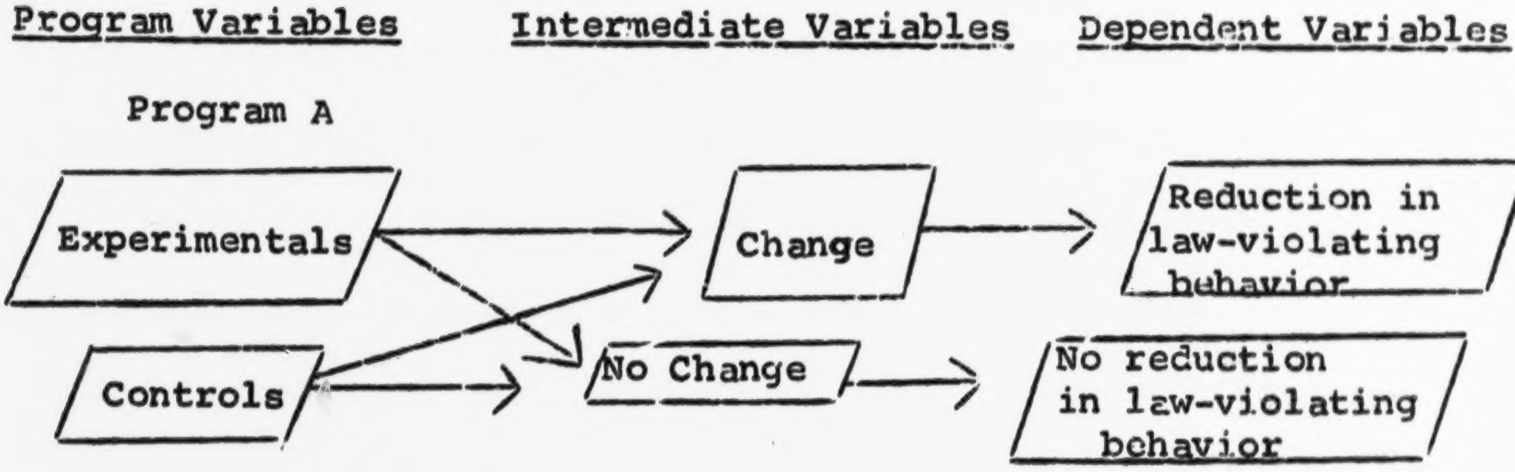
This analysis suggests that the two tasks--(a) providing an estimate of change in the law-violating behavior of a target group, and (b) providing an estimate of the extent to which the changes which occurred can be attributed to specified intermediate changes--require the same base: namely, an estimate of the volume or rate that would be expected if there were no special influences, including specifically designed and implemented intermediate changes achieved by the Project.

The two methodological devices chosen to answer these basic questions regarding impact of the Project and the testing of the hypothesis are: (1) A cohort of individuals, and (2) A law-violation prediction instrument.

Each of these devices will be developed in detail in subsequent sections of this chapter, but in brief the argument is as follows: A specifically defined population of individuals (the cohort) will be selected and followed during the action and post-action phases of the project. Members of this population will become variably involved, directly and indirectly, in the different programs of the project; some in none, some in one, some in two, etc. If any of the programs are successful, changes in one or more components of the Intermediate Variable for a significant number of those individuals will by definition have occurred. An age-specific law-violation prediction instrument will be constructed which will allow risk-of-law-violation probabilities to be assigned to each individual in the cohort.

The methodology for measuring impact can now be developed. The Project's hypothesis states that certain changes will be followed by certain other changes. The programs are designed to expose members of the target population indirectly (e.g., employment programs for fathers) or directly (e.g., tutoring programs) to procedures which will hopefully produce changes in the individual's environment (role performance, skills, etc.). Each of these changes is expected by the rationale to produce an increment of improved behavior, including less law-violation on the part of the individual.

The logic of the impact design is as follows:

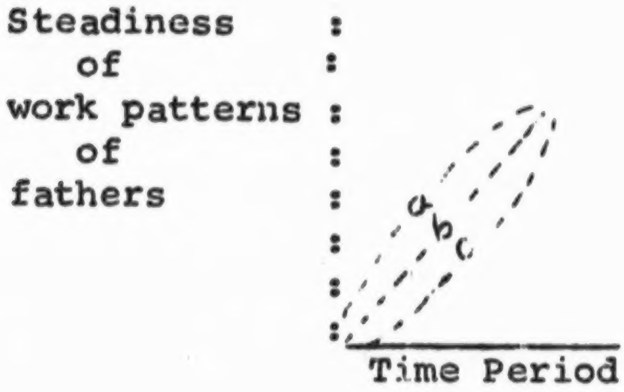

Program Variables
Intermediate Variables
Dependent Variables
Program A
Experimentals
Controls
Change
No Change
Reduction in law-violating behavior
No reduction in law-violating behavior

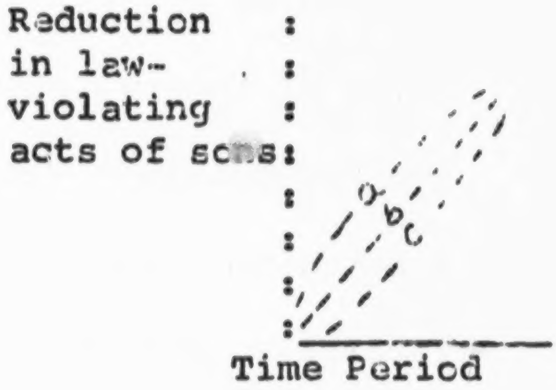
In short, it is the Project's hope that for each program significantly more of the experimentals than controls experience the desired intermediate change and that those experiencing such change, whether they are experimentals or controls, manifest a reduction in law-violating behavior.

It must be emphasized at this point that the hypothesis asserts a relationship between two sets of changes, not between two static conditions. Using the work patterns of fathers as an example, the hypothesis does not assert that steady working patterns will reduce the law-violating behavior of their sons.[1] It asserts that there should be a reduction in the law-violating behavior among sons of fathers who manifest increased steadiness in their work patterns. Hypothetical graphs depicting the two change patterns are:

---

[1] Defined as the discrepancy between the expected and the actual volume of law-violating acts.





Measurements of each variable at a minimum of three points in time are required to provide some estimate of the shape of the curve involved. Two problems which the hypothesis presents and does not solve--and, therefore, which must be left for empirical determination during the course of the research--is the relationship between the shapes of the curves and the question of time lag.

If the change pattern in the Intermediate Variable resembles curve "a", what will be the shape of the change pattern in the Dependent Variable? A second question is: What is the time lag between the curves? The hypothesis is basically a casual hypothesis not a correlation hypothesis; as such there should be a time lag between changes in the Intermediate Variable and the Dependent Variable. The rationale is not sufficiently refined to specify the time lag involved.

In addition, the hypothesis makes no assertions concerning similarities or differences between the rates of the two changes. A rapid rate of change in the Intermediate Variable may be required to produce a relatively slow rate of change in the Dependent Variable. Both of these problems--time lag and rate of change--are directly related to the amount of success the Project could possibly demonstrate during a specified and relatively short demonstration period. If there is considerable lag and/or the rate of change in the Dependent Variable is relatively low, much of the effects of the demonstration will take place after the cut-off point for the measurement of impact of the Project.

Since the Project involves a number of programs, some individuals may experience change in no components--some in one, some in two, etc. Using as an example three programs, labelled "A", "B", and "C", the possible combinations are as follows:

Reduction of Law-Violating Behavior by Combinations of Experienced Change

Type of Individual	Experienced Change in Component		
	A	B	C
I	YES	YES	YES
II	NO	YES	YES
III	YES	NO	YES
IV	YES	YES	NO
V	YES	NO	NO
VI	NO	YES	NO
VII	NO	NO	YES
VIII	NO	NO	NO

The rationale does not provide a theoretical basis for predicting how changes in components of the Intermediate Variable will combine to effect changes in the Dependent Variable. The assumption here is that they will be additive. The research will endeavor to determine empirically how they do combine.

However, even if they are additive, there is no way of predicting from the rationale which of the combinations will produce the greatest reduction in law-violating behavior, except that change in all three should have greater impact than change in any one or in any combination of two of the components. In addition, change may occur in different amounts for each of the components; the possible combinations of amounts of different changes are virtually unlimited.

As difficult as these problems are, it is a basic tenet of the action-research framework presented in this proposal that some degree of success in solving them is essential to the efficient allocation of resources to the solution of social problems. If a target population is exposed to a wide variety of programs there must be some way to sort out the effective from the ineffective programs. Otherwise, if the Project as a whole appears successful, all the programs -- the ones that did not contribute to the outcome as well as those that did -- must be repeated if the same results are to be expected.

With a cohort and a prediction instrument, and the fact that the members of the cohort will be differentially exposed to the programs of the Project, the following basis for testing the Project's hypothesis emerges:

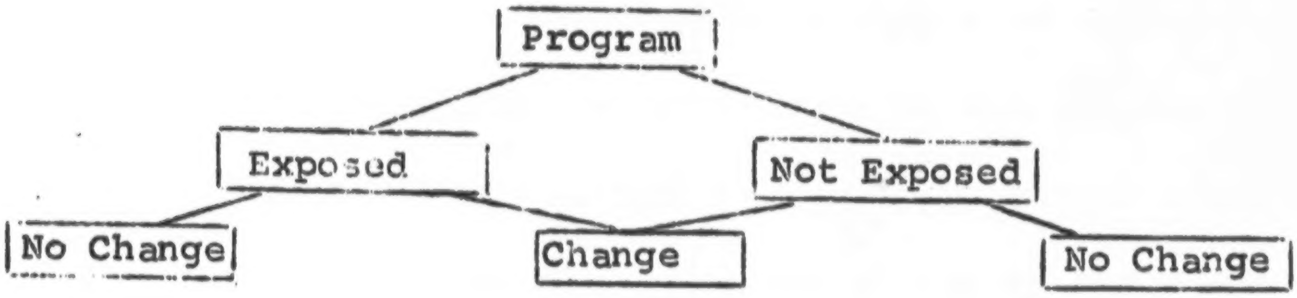
Basis for Measurement of Reductions of Law-Violating Behavior

Category of Individuals	Experienced Change in Component			(1) Predicted Rate of Law Violating Behavior	(2) Actual Rate of Law Violating Behavior	(3) Differences between Col. 1 & Col. 2
	A	B	C			
I	YES	YES	YES			
II	NO	YES	YES			
III	YES	NO	YES			
IV	YES	YES	NO			
V	YES	NO	NO			
VI	NO	YES	NO			
VII	NO	NO	YES			
VIII	NO	NO	NO			

Assuming no other factors are involved, those individuals who experience change should have a lower rate of law-violating behavior than their predicted rate. On the other hand, the actual rate and the predicted rate of law-violating behavior for those who experienced no change should not be significantly different.

It should now be clear that although randomization procedures--as emphasized in Chapter IV--will be used wherever possible to provide a basis for measuring the effects of each program on the various components of the Intermediate Variable, randomization procedures cannot be used as a basis for testing the Project's hypothesis. The hypothesis is concerned with the relationship between two sets of changes and not with the relationship between exposure to programs and changes in the Dependent Variable. In social science experiments, changes cannot be expected to occur in 100% of those exposed nor to fail to occur in 100% of those not exposed. The "change" groups and the "no change" groups will not necessarily be similar populations. In fact, there is every reason to believe that those with whom the programs were successful are likely to be different from those with whom the programs were not successful. In addition, desired change will undoubtedly occur for some of the members of the control groups--those not exposed to the programs. It is certainly unreasonable to assume that these would be random selections from the control groups of which they were a part.

For each program where randomized (or matched) experimental and control groups are used, an analysis will be made of the "changed" and "unchanged" groups in both the experimental and the control groups. Consider the following diagram.



If the program is a success, the proportion of the "exposed" group which changes will be significantly larger than the proportion of the "not exposed" group which changes. In other words, some of the "exposed" group would have changed anyway. Presumably, the remaining "exposed and changed" cases would not have changed without the intervention. Separate analysis will be made for three "changed" groups: (1) members of the control group who experienced change--what might be called "natural change"; (2) the members of the exposed group who "would have changed anyway"; and (3) the members of the exposed group who "would not have changed anyway". Groups (2) and (3) will be differentiated by comparing the "not exposed and changed" group with the "exposed and changed" group and selecting from the latter those individuals who most closely match the former on personal and socio-economic characteristics.

Solution of this problem is essential to a determination of whether the Project's hypothesis involves a "casual" relationship or a relationship between two indexes of some third unknown set of conditions or variables. If the hypothesis actually involves a casual relationship and if it is supported at all by the data, the hypothesis should be supported when tested on all three groups. If the analysis of groups (1) and (2) supports the hypothesis, but the analysis of group (3) does not, the conclusion would be that the program produced a change in an "index" variable rather than a casual variable. By index variable is meant one which tends to vary with the Dependent Variable because of a mutual relationship to some third set of variables.

This method of combining a cohort and a prediction instrument contains its own corrections for the following problems:

(1) It may be that those individuals who are most easily changed also have the lowest probability of delin-

quency. If this is true and we simply compared the rates of violation of those who changed with those who did not change, it would be found that the former had a lower violation rate than the latter and the conclusion might be mistakenly drawn that the result was a function of the induced change when it was more likely a function of a difference between the two populations. The method outlined here corrects for this problem by use of the prediction instrument, thus requiring, for the hypothesis to be regarded as supported, that the law-violation rate be lower than expected, not just lower than for those for whom no change was induced. The same argument holds for each of the other comparisons--Category A with Categories B, C, and D, for example.

(2) Even if the probabilities of risk of violation are randomly distributed among the difference categories of induced change, (that is, that there is no relationship between susceptibility to change and probability of violation) it may be that for some of the categories more of the high risk members of the category are lost--through residential movement, death, etc.--to the study. If this were true and simple comparisons of the different categories by rates of violation were made,unjustified conclusions (in either

direction) concerning the impact of induced change on the violation rate might be made. The method outlined here corrects for this problem by use of the cohort and the prediction instrument. If relatively more of the high risk individuals are lost to a particular category, the predicted rate of law-violation for that category will thereby also be reduced, requiring an even lower actual rate of law-violation for differences to emerge.

The Cohort or Measurement Population

The function of the cohort in the Project's impact methodology is to provide a population which can be followed and observed during the demonstration and the post-action phase of the research. Some of this population will be exposed directly or indirectly to one or more of the Programs.

The continuous observation of a cohort of individuals who are representative of the Project's target population will provide a basis for estimating population and other changes that may occur. The cohort, in combination with the prediction instrument, provides a basis for estimating what the law-violation behavior rates of the target population would have been had there been no intervention.

5

The target population of the Project will consist of the 12 through 16-year-old males residing in the Study Area during the demonstration period. The best and most practical sources for the selection of a cohort are the school systems, public and private. These have been chosen as the starting points for the selection of the measurement population.

Since youths may drop out of school in Boston at their sixteenth birthday, the selection of 16-year olds from the school population would be seriously biased since those who had already dropped out of school would not be available for selection. The initial measurement cohort for the Project will, therefore, consist of all the 12, 13, 14 and 15-year old males who reside in the designated census tracts in the South End, Roxbury, Charlestown, and North Dorchester.

The notion of a "moving cohort" will be used. As individuals in the original cohort become 17 years of age they will be dropped from the cohort and as individuals in the selection population become 12 years of age they will be added to the cohort.

Each October 1, the school records of all boys residing in the specified areas who are 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 years of age will be photographed. Recordak equipment and procedures for performing this task have already been tested in the Boston public schools and it is clear that this task can be performed efficiently and without inordinate cost. These records will provide the basic source both for the identification and follow-up of the cohort and for the information to be used in constructing and maintaining the instrument for predicting law-violating behavior. The 11-year olds will be included since many of them will become 12 years of age during the school year and will be added to the cohort on their birthday.

The cohort will be constructed as follows:

As of a particular date--perhaps April 1, 1964--all boys as defined above will be selected. These will be referred to as Original Cases (OC). On that date the Measurement Population would consist of the following:

Pre-cohort group -- all 11-year-old males

The Cohort

Sub-cohort "a" -- all 12-year-old males
Sub-cohort "b" -- all 13-year-old males
Sub-cohort "c" -- all 14-year-old males

Sub-cohort "d" -- all 15-year old males

Sub-cohort "e" -- all 16-year old males (empty)

On April 2, 1964, some of Sub-cohort "d" will become 16 years of age and will enter Sub-cohort "e". Some of the Pre-cohort group will become 12 years of age and will enter Sub-cohort "a". Similarly other individuals will move into an older Sub-cohort. Eventually members of the original Sub-cohort "d" will become 17 years of age and will be dropped from the cohort. The new 12-year olds will be referred to as Normal Additions (NA). The 17-year olds will be referred to as Normal Deletions (ND). On any day there will be a 12-year-old Sub-cohort, a 13-year-old Sub-cohort, 14, 15 and 16-year-old Sub-cohorts and eventually 17 and 18-year old Sub-cohorts. Each day the membership of each Sub-cohort will change slightly. This is the notion of the "moving cohort."

There will also be additions to the cohort of boys who move into the target area. These will be referred to as Special Additions (SA). There will also be subtractions from the cohort of boys who move outside of the target area or who die. These will be referred to as Special Deletions (SD). Boys who move from one part of the Study

Area to another will remain in the cohort. However, to the extent that separate analyses are made for each sub-area they will be counted in the analysis of the sub-area where they lived as of the date of the analysis. In addition, such moves may affect their risk scores insofar as residential mobility is a weighted factor in that score; in addition, the two areas may have different delinquency rates which may also be a weighted risk factor.

There will also be subtractions from the cohort of boys who reside in the Study Area but who are physically absent for one reason or another, such as being in an institution, in the service, etc. These will be referred to as Temporary Deletions (TD).

On any day the cohort will consist of:

All OC's who are 12 through 16 years of age
Plus NA's "
Minus ND's "
Plus SA's "
Minus SD's "
Minus TD's "

Utilizing these procedures and information concerning contacts between the police and the members of the cohort, daily age-specific rates, or rates for any other sub-categories of the cohort, can be computed. It will not be necessary to do so for each day during the demonstration; a a random sample of days will be selected in advance and the major cohort identifications--shifts of individuals from one age category to another--will be computed in advance. The SA, SD and TD changes will have to be made as of the day of the analysis.

The law-violation rates for 13-year olds, for example, will consist of the cumulative rates computed through the procedures described above. And in each instance the rate will include the number of law-violating acts of all individuals who are 13 on the given day. This number will be divided by a population all of whose members are 13 on the same day. The usual method of computing age-specific delinquency rates is to total the number of individuals, usually for a calendar year, who meet a certain criterion--e.g., as having had a police contact--and who were a given age, such as 13, on the date of the criterion event. This total is then divided by the number of individuals who were that same age on a given date of that calendar year--April 1, if census data are used. The populations from which the numerator and the denominator of the above equation were selected are not identical. Many more individuals are eligible for inclusion in the numerator who are not eligible for inclusion in the denominator. The procedure planned for the Boston Youth Opportunities Project will, using the example above, include only 13-year olds in both the numerator and the denominator of the rate computing formula. With this procedure, age-specific rates can be computed for different days of the week, specific holidays, months, seasons, periods when schools are in or not in session, etc. No information of this type is available at present.

Most importantly, these same procedures apply to the computation of violation rates by categories of change in the Intermediate Variable. To take a simplified example, assume that for a given component of the Intermediate Variable all individuals in the cohort can be classified as "changed" or "not changed."[1] For any given day or cumulative sample of days the actual law-violation rates of the "changed" group should be significantly lower than its expected law-violation rate.[2] Conversely, the law-violation rate of the "not changed" group should not differ significantly from its expected rate. It should be clear from the above that both the membership and the expected rates for both groups may, and undoubtedly will, be different from computation to computation.

---

[1] It should be re-emphasized here that "changed" may and often will refer to a change in the individual's environment and not necessarily to a change in him.

[2] The problem of a time lag between the changes in a component of the Intermediate Variable and their "effects" on the Dependent Variable is directly relevant here.

The Prediction Instrument

The second major component of the methodology for measuring impact and testing the hypothesis, is the prediction instrument. Its function is to assign to individuals and groups of individuals risk scores or estimates of the likelihood that an individual or category will be recorded as a law violator, according to the definitions developed for this Project. The concept of the prediction instrument and its use in testing the Project's hypothesis is related theoretically to the "moving cohort" and may be referred to as a "moving risk score." The instrument will predict for persons possessing certain characteristics at any age the number of recorded law violations at any subsequent age. Therefore, the aim will be to develop a series of predictions of expected rates for ages 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16. An individual's law-violation risk score is likely to vary over time as a function of his age and of events occurring between calculations of that score. Recalculation of each individual's risk score will be made for each of his one-year age periods during the demonstration.[1] In addition, predictions will be made at each age for each of the succeeding ages in the 12 through 16-year period.

Two basic steps will be used in the development of a prediction instrument for this Project. First, the instrument will be developed retrospectively, using present information on delinquency and presently available data on the characteristics of persons at a previous point in time which correlate with delinquent behavior. This makes possible the rapid development of an instrument by using currently available information about past events. However, retrospective studies are restricted to currently available data which has been gathered for other purposes. The information may not be available for all youths, it may not include the most powerful predictions of law-violation and it may be lacking in reliability and validity. The second step is to continually refine the instrument prospectively by developing during the demonstration new and more precise predictive indexes to replace the measures which were based on the retrospective data. These predictions will provide the basis for the estimating law violations by the members of the cohort which would have occurred if there had been no intervention--or more accurately, if no intermediate changes had occurred. As the hypothetical table on page 249 indicated, a satisfactorily accurate predition instrument is essential to this methodology. The accuracy of the instrument will be continuously retested--and modified if necessary--in the following way:

---

[1] The decision as to how often to recalculate the risk score is of course an arbitrary one. The yearly "correction" of risk scores contemplated here appears to be sufficiently ambitious.

(a) The factors derived from the first empirical formulations will be tried out with one or more different populations;

(b) Simultaneously with predictions maintained for the Study Area cohort, predictions will be checked for one or more samples outside the Study Area; and

(c) The law-violation rates for members of the cohort not experiencing change in any components of the Intermediate Variable should not be significantly different from their expected rates.

The development of the prediction instrument involves statistical manipulation by which the greatest degree of relationship between the prediction variables and delinquency is empirically determined. A regression equation is determined for every impact index or factor. The inter-relationship of each index is determined. Indexes which are so highly correlated that they serve as iteration of the same effect are reduced to a single variable. The independent effects are summed to increase the power of prediction by means of a multiple regression equation. Finally, the precision of prediction is increased to the maximum by giving relative weights to each of the indexes. As a word of caution it must be emphasized that the desired instrument will only provide a statement of probability. Not all high risk persons will become delinquent and conversely not all low risk persons will avoid a delinquency status.

The following describes the procedures for selecting groups to establish retrospectively the characteristics of 12-year-old boys which predispose them to law violation at age 13, 13-year olds at age 14, etc. Two groups of 500 boys each will constitute the populations for constructing the instrument. Both groups will consist of boys 11 to 15 years of age; they will be drawn from the Boston public school system and will have sufficiently complete school records to provide information for the instrument. All the members of one group will have had one or more official contacts with law enforcement agencies, whereas none of the other group will have had such contacts.

Information on all of the assumed impact indexes will be coded and punched on I.B.M. cards for all members of both groups. A multiple regression equation will be developed which best represents the outcome criterion in the manner described previously.

The prediction instrument developed by means of these procedures may have no general applicability. The instrument will be a statistical description relating certain characteristics to an outcome criterion. Even if there were no real relationships between any of the impact indexes and the outcome criterion, the great number of manipulations could make chance relationships appear to have statistical significance. Therefore, it is essential that the instrument developed on one sample be tested on others.

Another sample of boys will be selected from the general population as a validation sample to test for generalizability. In accordance with the procedures used in developing the prediction instrument, risk scores will be given to each member in the validation sample. To simplify the analysis and to give more direction to refinement of the instrument, the sample will be divided into "high risk," "medium risk," and "low risk" groups and the average probability for each group will be used to predict the number of official contacts in each of these groups.

The expected number will be contrasted with the observed number. Youths would be excluded from the sample who are institutionalized or otherwise ineligible to achieve a delinquency status for nine months or more during 1963. If the observed delinquency does not differ significantly from the expected delinquency on the basis of a Chi^2 analysis, the instrument will have survived its initial validity test. The following table indicates how such a comparison would be made.

Observed and Expected Delinquency at Age 16 During 1963 Predicted from Data Obtained in 1956

	Risk Score Range	Delinquent		Non Delinquent		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
High Risk						
Medium Risk						
Low Risk						

The Tracking and Data Processing Center

All the elements of the Project's research methodology require that a wide range of information from a number of different data sources be obtained and processed for each member of the cohort and for many other individuals; e.g., older siblings. This requires that an elaborate data processing and tracking center be established and maintained.

For each individual and for each component of the Intermediate Variable, the following are required:

(1) A way of measuring whether changes in those components have occurred--preferably refined enough to measure the amount of change.

(2) Information concerning the volume and seriousness of actual occurencces of law-violating behavior by members of the cohort.

(3) A way of estimating the expected occurrences of law-violating behavior by members of the cohort.

Data pertaining to individuals will be coming in from a number of sources: school data (including cumulative record information, truancy and curriculum data); police data (including central records arrest data and Juvenile Aid Section police contact data); court appearance and disposition data; probation commission data; Youth Service Board data; parole data; and data from the various programs (e.g., youth employment, experimental school programs).

A consecutively numbered punched card file with a blank (other than the number) card for each number from 000.001 to 999,999 has been established. This file will constitute the basic supply of identification numbers, with only one of each number in the file. (This latter fact will be established by a computer check.) Each individual's name will be coded for the first four digits--based on an I.B.M. alphabetically ordered number system. One of the 100 cards with the specified first four digits in the identification number supply file will be selected (physically pulled from the file) and assigned to the individual. The individual's name, address, date of birth and other identifying information will be punched into that card. The card will then be duplicated and one of the duplicates filed alphabetically in an "active" alphabetical file and the other filed numerically in an "active" identification number file.

Data will usually come in with a name, address and other identifying information. In some instances the data may come in with the individual's identification number. For each entry, the individual's name and other identifying information will be checked against the active alphabetical file of individuals. When the incoming data pertain to an individual already in the active file, the previously assigned identification number will be coded onto the record. When the incoming data pertain to an individual not in the file, the individual's name will be coded and an identification number card selected from the inactive number file according to procedures described above. This identification number will be coded onto the incoming data record.

Several types of error are inherent in an identification number system (1) the assignment of the same number to two or more different individuals; (2) the assignment of two or more different numbers to the same individual; and (3) the incorrect coding of an individual's indentification number onto one or more of his data records; the data once punched and processsed is then attributed to either a non-existent or wrong individual, depending upon whether the "incorrect" number is an active one in the system.

The procedures described above should provide considerable protection against the first type of error. The use of an alphabetical and numerical system, the alphabetical filing of a full set of cards (identification number, name, address, date of birth and other information), and the fact that the data cards for all individuals with identical or similar names will be filed in the same general location should provide considerable protection against the second type of error. Systematic rechecks can be made of the number assignments made to whole sets of identical or similar names.

Protection against the third type of error may be most difficult to provide. One method would be as follows: When the incoming data record pertains to an individual already in the active file that individual's number will be recorded on the data record and the I.B.M. alphabetical card from which it was recorded will be pulled from the file and clipped to the data record. The transcription of the number will be verified by a second person, and the I.B.M. card returned to the file. In addition, periodic random checks will be made by pulling punched data cards from the files and verifying the clerical operations against the original data record.

Each of the sources, such as the Boston Public Schools, and the Boston Police Department, has within it a large number of discrete reporting units: e.g., different teachers, policemen, and the personnel of the many agencies involved in the Youth Training and Employment Program. Some of the sources of data will be controlled in terms of the nature and form of the data they supply. Other sources will supply data which has not been collected under ABCD direction, requiring thus a degree of selectivity and interpretation not required normally.

All incoming data must be translated to a machine-readable format compatible with other elements of the system. For some sources of data this transferral must be performed by coders; simply transferring information to a machine-readable format. Other information will require interpretation and translation to a standard format as in the case of addresses which must be converted to census tract numbers. Through the use of special printed forms and devices such as the optical scanner, much of this simple coding and key-punching may be automated.

The volume of incoming data will vary widely with cycles of testing, interviewing and the phases of programs. The number of possible forms of incoming data and the probability of an increasing number of data sources demands a system which can handle many data sources and formats and can maintain a tracking system on the data itself, the stages of reporting, coding, and entry of data into the system.

The use of a computer for the tracking of data is indicated, since regular checks will be required on the status of the data.

The three basic data sources upon which the Project will depend are:

(1) The Boston Police Department;

(2) The Boston Public Schools; and,

(3) The Youth Opportunities Project programs.

A form has been developed and is being pretested in the field by members of the Boston Police Department's Juvenile Aid Section which should greatly facilitate the task of obtaining and maintaining detailed information concerning police contacts with youths. The form has been precoded for I.B.M. processing. A copy of the form appears as the next page of this proposal.

As has been previously mentioned, arrangements have been made for the periodic photographing of the records of the Boston Public Schools. A series of codes have been devised to translate the data from those records for I.B.M. processing.

Every effort will be made to provide for each of the Youth Opportunities programs pre-coded forms and in some instances forms which can be used with the optical scanner for automatic card punching.

In addition to the research which is required to evaluate each of the specific programs, four interrelated research operations are required:

(1) The cohort must be selected and maintained on an individual, name and address basis for the demonstration period. This involves keeping track of the whereabouts, movements and events in the lives of the members of the cohort.

(2) The prediction instrument must be constructed, validated and periodically tested and risk scores computed and periodically recomputed for each member of the cohort.

(3) Day-to-day detailed information must be systematically gathered concerning contacts by the police and other law enforcement agencies with members of the cohort. This requires knowledge about all such contacts so that those in the cohort can be sorted out. Seriousness scales and law-violating--non-law-violating scales must be devised and applied to each contact.

(4) A data processing center must be established and operated whereby the data from these and other sources can be processed, and particularly, so that data from the different sources concerning

the same individual can be processed as a unit.

A budget, separate from those required to evaluate each of the programs, is needed for Project Evaluation. Research units to handle the prediction instrument and to handle the data concerning contacts with law enforcement agencies are included in the Tracking Center budget. Portions of the cost of carrying out the cohort maintenance functions of the Tracking Center and of the cost of the data processing have been charged to each of the separate programs.

CHAPTER VII

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

The study, planning and negotiations in this Project, which are still going forward, have not all gone smoothly and it may be worthwhile to point out some of the stresses and strains.

First, the size and shape of urban social problems challenge the knowledge and inventiveness of the most able and experienced people. Solutions to delinquency and related problems are not easily found. If they were, there would be no need for projects to demonstrate and test methods and programs.

The knowledge and expertise that are needed must come from specialized fields and disciplines, but over and above these, unique skills are required. The researcher must come into a project of this type with an understanding of the practitioner's problems. The program developer must be committed to evaluative research and must appreciate the researcher's problems. In addition, the designing of programs calls for skills quite distinct from those of the practioner or the administrator. The commitments and skills mentioned above are hard to come by. To some extent they can be forged in the process of developing projects such as this one.

Second, the complexity of social problems even in one part of the city demands a depth of investigation and understanding that takes time. The months spent in recruiting and organizing a staff left this project hard pressed for time for adequate study and discussion with the many elements of the community involved and affected by the planning. The unavoidable necessity of crystallizing a program proposal, sometimes in the midst of complex negotiations, in order to have it in written form by a given date has undoubtedly been a source of frustration.

Third, a more basic problem, is the fact that a project such as this inevitably involves changes in a community and its agencies. Change is seldom perceived in a neutral way. To the changer, what he seeks to achieve must hold the promise of improvement. Some agencies have themselves suggested changes. But the direction and extent of changes that this Project has pressed for must frequently appear to other agencies as unwanted pressure and ill-conceived interference. The outcome is necessarily shaped by a conflict of ideas and a conflict of influence and power. These forces have been at work in this project.

Turning from problems to an observation concerning the present status of this Project, it should be pointed out that program development is a continuing process that has a spiral-like quality. A problem is identified in a preliminary way, some general objectives are set, and rough ideas on program methods are formulated. The planning must repeat this process several times, hopefully with more clarity and specificity each time. However, even after a program has been funded and staff employed, the process of developing an operational design must be continued and even intensified.

The program evaluation and Project evaluation designs presented in this proposal are based in part on the assumption that reasonably large numbers of individuals will be reached by the various programs. In those programs where randomization is possible the response must be such that three conditions are satisfied: (1) the program must serve the number of individuals specified in the design and (2) there must be a large enough sample of individuals over and above the served group to provide a satisfactory control group. Both of these conditions must be satisfied in order to have experimental and control groups that are large enough for it to be reasonable to expect that the impact will be statistically significant. Measurable impact is possible with very small samples, but only when the resulting differences between the experimental and control groups are really startling.

The research designs described previously have assumed that a major share of the necessary data gathering will be provided by the intake, process and follow-up recording procedures of the programs. If response to the programs is meager, much of the required information about the cohort members will have to be sought by much more time consuming and expensive methods -- special observations, interviews, analysis of agency data, etc..

The President's Committee has viewed the development of delinquency prevention programs as demonstrations.

Their notion of a demonstration, which this Project fully endorses, includes not only determining whether a particular program can be implemented, but also finding out whether it actually prevents delinquency. However, when the demonstration period is limited to three years, several consequences ensue. If findings concerning the impact of the programs and the project are desired at the end of the demonstration period, the last year of the action phase may have to be excluded from the research. If, as is very likely, much of the first year of the Project is devoted to "tooling up" and "shake down" operations, the findings from the action-research project may be based primarily on what happened only during the middle year of the demonstration.

In addition, the limitation of a three year demonstration period creates timing problems. For example, the impact of some programs on a population may not manifest itself until several years after the individuals have been exposed to the programs. Also, the impact of direct delinquency prevention efforts with very young children cannot occur within the life of a three year demonstration Project.

Implementing the programs as designed will depend very heavily on the training of personnel. In the Spring of 1962, ABCD staff members were invited to participate with the faculty of the School of Social Work at Boston University in their discussions concerning the establishment, with support from the President's Committee of a training center for personnel in youth-serving agencies. Project staff continued to participate in these discussions as they proceeded on an inter-departmental basis within the University.

In June, 1963, the President's Committee made a grant for the planning and development of a training center to the Law-Medicine Institute at Boston University. On November 1, the Community Coordinator of the Training Center in Youth Development joined the Institute staff.

This proposal has been shared with the coordinator. A number of conferences have been held with the coordinator, Project staff and public school personnel to plan for the immediate training needs of the programs. A fully-developed plan and budget for training for this Project will be submitted by the Training Center to the President's Committee in the near future.

APPENDIX B

PROGRAM ADVISORY COMMITTEE - BOSTON YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES PROJECT

Albert B. Carter
Commissioner of Probation

Dr. John D. Coughlan, Chairman
Massachusetts Youth Service Board

William M. Curran
Director of the Law Medical Institute
Boston University

Arthur Davis, Associate
Recreation Informal Education Group Division
United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston

Capt. Walter J. Hankard
Central Services
Boston Police Department

Rev. Albert W. Low, Superintendent of Schools
Archdiocese of Boston Department of Education

J. Westbrook McPherson, Executive Director
Urban League of Greater Boston, Inc.

Kenneth V. Minihan, Deputy Director
Massachusetts Division of Employment Security

Robert M. Mulford, General Secretary
Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty
to Children

Campbell G. Murphy, Chairman
Director of Special Programs Department
United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston

William Ohrenberger, Superintendent
Boston Public Schools

Mark Richmond, Director
Massachusetts Council on Crime and Delinquency

Charles O. Ruddy, Assistant Superintendent
Boston Public Schools

James Travers, Co-Chairman
Director of Youth Activities Bureau

APPENDIX C

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Arthur J. Gartland - Chairman

John J. Broderick

Victor C. Bynoe

Dr. John D. Coughlan

Dr. Alfred L. Frechette

Dr. Frederick J. Gillis

Arthur Hartin

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Lally

Rev. Albert W. Low

Mrs. Theresa J. Morse

James A. Travers

Dr. Harry C. Solomon

William F. Lally

APPENDIX D

MALE COURT APPEARANCES BY CENSUS TRACTS

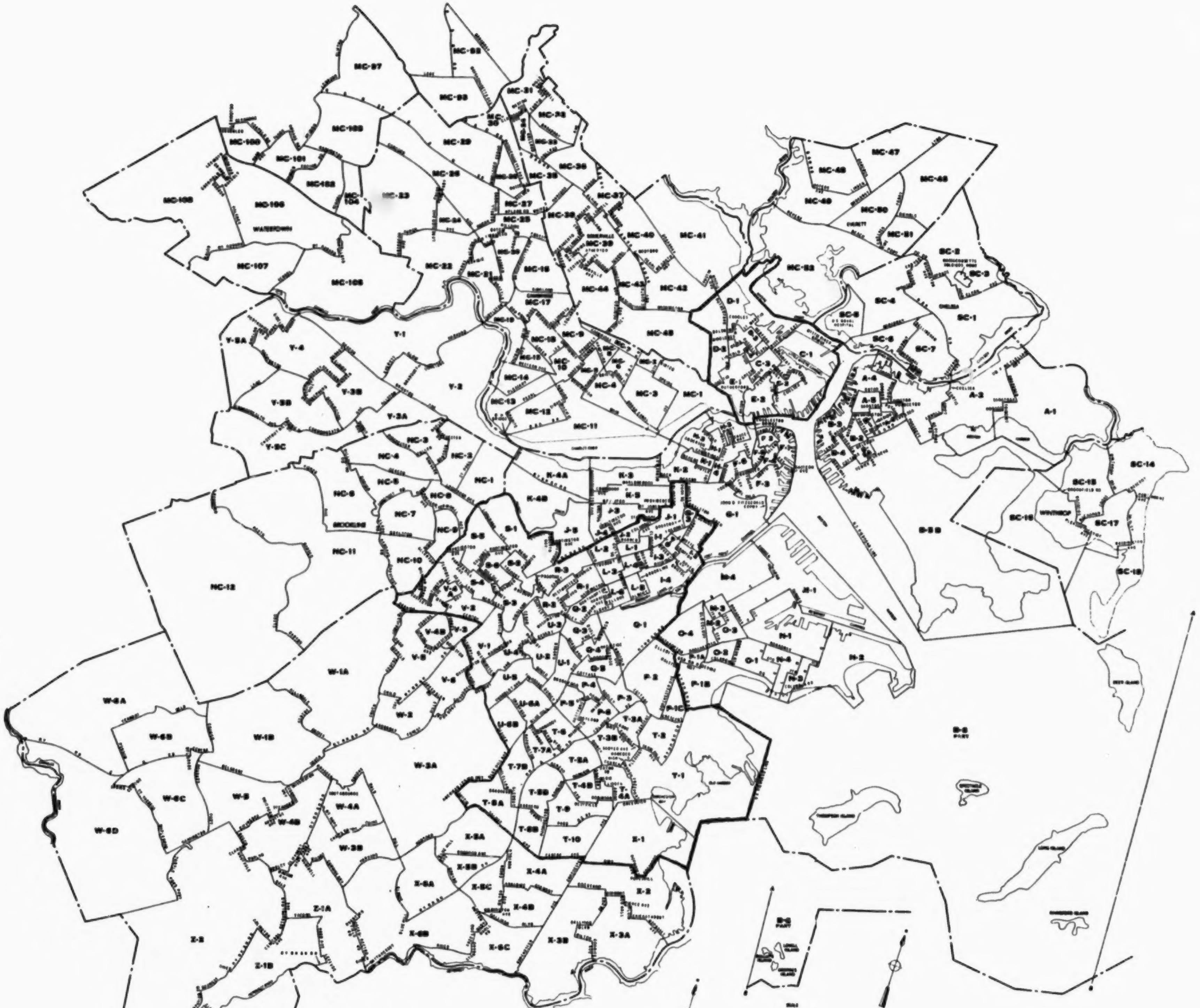
BOSTON, 1959-1961

			For					
Tract Code	Census Tract	1959	1960	1961	Total 1959-1961	Mean 1959-1961	No. of Youth 7-17	Rate per 1,000
010	A-1	10	3	8	21	7.0	563	12.4
011	A-2	5	2	1	8	2.7	354	7.6
012	A-3	19	9	6	34	11.3	453	24.9
013	A-4	6	7	9	22	7.3	354	20.6
014	A-5	16	21	17	54	18.0	425	42.3
015	A-6	14	5	4	23	7.7	226	34.0
020	B-1	10	11	3	24	8.0	167	47.9
021	B-2	7	6	6	19	6.3	177	35.5
022	B-3	16	14	14	44	14.7	289	50.8
023	B-4	5	3	6	14	4.7	210	22.3
024	B-5a	3	1	-	4	1.3	187	6.9
025	B-6	-	1	-	1	0.3	69	4.3
030	C-1	3	8	11	22	7.3	171	42.6
031	C-2	15	16	12	43	14.3	247	57.8
032	C-3	21	11	10	42	14.0	400	35.0
040	D-1	7	4	1	12	4.0	109	36.6
041	D-2	10	2	3	15	5.0	80	62.5
042	D-3	11	11	5	27	9.0	285	31.5
043	D-4	21	10	8	39	13.0	247	52.6
050	E-1	14	10	16	40	13.3	243	54.7
051	E-2	17	13	13	43	14.3	181	79.0
060	F-1	13	18	12	43	14.3	224	63.8
061	F-2	13	1	7	21	7.0	264	26.5
062	F-3	7	-	-	7	2.3	17	135.2
063	F-4	5	4	11	20	6.7	235	32.7
064	F-5	8	6	13	27	9.0	153	58.8
065	F-6	4	1	1	6	2.0	16	125.0
070	G-1	1	2	4	7	2.3	39	58.9
071	G-2	2	2	2	6	2.0	144	13.8
072	G-3	-	-	-	-	0.0	9	-
073	G-4	4	9	12	25	8.3	41	20.2
080	H-1	13	3	2	18	6.0	43	139.5
081	H-2	4	1	-	5	1.7	1	1700.0
082	H-3	1	-	-	1	0.3	7	42.8
083	H-4	11	8	6	25	8.3	135	61.4
090	I-1	12	14	13	39	13.0	161	80.7
091	I-2	3	5	3	11	3.7	22	168.1
092	I-3	16	19	23	58	19.3	251	76.8
093	I-4	32	31	38	101	33.7	364	92.5

			For					
Tract Code	Census Tract	1959	1960	1961	Total 1959-1961	Mean 1959-1961	No. of Youth 7-17	Rate per 1,000
100	J-1	2	8	10	20	6.7	72	93.0
101	J-2	5	6	5	16	5.3	86	61.6
102	J-3	3	10	8	21	7.0	28	250.0
103	J-4	8	5	6	19	6.3	111	56.7
104	J-5	5	9	11	25	8.3	138	60.1
110	K-1	3	7	8	18	6.0	76	78.9
111	K-2	2	1	1	4	1.3	65	20.0
112	K-3	-	-	1	1	0.3	56	5.3
113	K-4a	-	-	1	1	0.3	30	10.0
114	K-5	1	-	-	1	0.3	74	4.0
120	L-1	17	8	15	40	13.3	107	124.2
121	L-2	8	18	20	46	15.3	144	106.2
122	L-3	12	10	16	38	12.7	113	112.3
123	L-4	2	6	20	28	9.3	89	104.4
124	L-5	5	7	6	18	6.0	50	120.0
125	L-6	1	-	6	7	2.3	41	56.0
130	M-1	6	16	12	34	11.3	109	103.6
131	M-2	12	12	9	33	11.0	197	55.8
132	M-3	23	14	14	51	17.0	477	35.6
133	M-4	3	9	5	17	5.7	61	93.4
140	N-1	11	11	18	40	13.3	448	29.6
141	N-2	9	10	7	26	8.7	365	23.8
142	N-3	5	6	7	18	6.0	223	26.9
143	N-4	11	5	7	23	7.7	384	20.0
150	O-1	6	6	9	21	7.0	489	14.3
151	O-2	25	14	15	54	18.0	429	41.9
152	O-3	9	7	10	26	8.7	301	28.9
153	O-4	2	2	1	5	1.7	82	20.7
160	P-1a	3	2	1	6	2.0	121	16.5
161	P-2	7	5	4	16	5.3	371	14.2
162	P-3	10	17	8	35	11.7	282	41.4
163	P-4	14	19	16	49	16.3	267	61.0
164	P-5	26	37	31	94	31.3	404	77.4
165	P-6	8	7	8	23	7.7	227	33.9
170	Q-1	8	3	2	13	4.3	72	59.7
171	Q-2	36	11	25	72	24.0	254	94.4
172	Q-3	31	31	45	107	35.7	488	73.1
173	Q-4	3	12	14	29	9.7	210	46.1
174	Q-5	35	21	23	79	26.3	364	72.2
180	R-1	29	18	18	65	21.7	276	78.6
181	R-2	7	4	12	23	7.7	134	57.4
182	R-3	15	9	9	33	11.0	262	41.9

			For					
Tract Code	Census Tract	1959	1960	1961	Total 1959-1961	Mean 1959-1961	No. of Youth 7-17	Rate per 1,000
190	S-1	29	19	49	97	32.3	409	78.9
191	S-2	18	7	16	41	13.7	383	35.7
192	S-3	18	19	22	59	19.7	285	69.1
193	S-4	3	10	12	25	8.3	232	35.7
194	S-5	2	8	17	27	9.0	286	31.4
195	S-6	15	8	8	31	10.3	298	34.5
200	T-1	43	36	46	125	41.7	1200	34.7
201	T-2	8	16	11	35	11.7	538	21.7
202	T-3a	6	4	3	13	4.3	243	17.6
203	T-4a	9	7	9	25	8.3	336	24.7
204	T-5a	15	13	9	37	12.3	489	25.1
205	T-6	45	32	44	121	40.3	467	86.2
206	T-7a	6	8	6	20	6.7	186	36.0
207	T-8a	13	23	25	61	20.3	637	31.8
208	T-9	7	2	5	14	4.7	545	8.6
209	T-10	5	4	-	9	3.0	340	8.8
210	U-1	26	25	17	68	22.7	417	54.4
211	U-2	36	29	35	100	33.3	356	93.5
212	U-3	29	34	25	88	29.3	314	93.3
213	U-4	24	22	28	74	24.7	439	56.2
214	U-5	47	44	32	123	41.0	578	70.9
215	U-6a	26	26	26	78	26.0	397	65.4
220	V-1	9	12	11	32	10.7	253	42.2
221	V-2	40	42	33	115	38.3	732	52.3
222	V-3	5	13	9	27	9.0	248	36.2
223	V-4a	1	3	4	8	2.7	132	20.4
224	V-5	17	23	25	65	21.7	529	41.0
225	V-6	8	12	13	33	11.0	497	22.1
230	W-1a	6	3	11	20	6.7	645	10.3
231	W-2	7	6	13	26	8.7	350	24.8
232	W-3a	12	8	10	30	10.0	659	15.1
233	W-4a	3	1	1	5	1.7	188	9.0
234	W-5	13	12	14	39	13.0	746	17.4
235	W-6a	6	2	2	10	3.3	472	6.9
240	X-1	12	11	10	33	11.0	668	16.4
241	X-2	9	11	15	35	11.7	729	16.0
242	X-3a	4	13	6	23	7.7	448	17.1
243	X-4a	8	6	10	24	8.0	549	14.5
244	X-5a	9	12	16	37	12.3	715	17.2
245	X-6a	2	13	9	24	8.0	731	10.9
250	Y-1	13	4	5	22	7.3	443	16.4
251	Y-2	16	15	13	44	14.7	441	33.3
252	Y-3a	4	15	6	25	8.3	269	30.8
253	Y-4	11	11	17	39	13.0	802	16.2
254	Y-5a	3	3	2	8	2.7	425	6.3

Tract Code	Census Tract	1959	For 1960	1961	Total 1959-1961	Mean 1959-1961	No. of youth 7-17	Rate per 1000
260	Z-1a	14	6	15	35	11.7	517	22.6
261	Z-2	20	20	11	51	17.0	1144	14.8
270	B5b	13	7	5	25	8.3	338	24.5
271	K-4b	4	3	2	9	3.0	104	28.8
272	P-1b	12	7	5	24	8.0	281	28.4
273	P-1c	-	2	1	3	1.0	124	8.0
274	T-3b	7	9	7	23	7.7	386	19.9
275	T-4b	6	6	2	14	4.7	368	12.7
276	T-5b	9	9	5	23	7.7	388	19.8
277	T-7b	15	4	23	42	14.0	543	25.7
278	T-8b	7	7	1	15	5.0	303	16.5
279	U-6b	25	16	13	54	18.0	335	53.7
280	V-4b	6	3	12	21	7.0	268	26.1
281	W-1b	7	6	15	28	9.3	770	12.0
282	W-3b	2	2	-	4	1.3	91	14.2
283	W-4b	7	18	15	30	10.0	652	15.3
284	W-6b	1	3	-	4	1.3	493	2.6
285	W-6c	5	3	2	10	3.3	539	6.1
286	W-6d	8	6	7	21	7.0	626	11.1
287	X-3b	1	2	8	11	3.7	473	7.8
288	X-4b	8	4	6	20	6.7	342	19.5
289	X-5b	2	3	12	17	5.7	272	20.9
290	X-5c	8	8	9	25	8.3	353	23.5
291	X-6b	2	5	9	16	5.3	913	5.8
292	X-6c	5	4	3	12	4.0	402	9.9
293	Y-3b	9	9	4	22	7.3	778	9.3
294	Y-5b	3	1	5	9	3.0	459	6.5
295	Y-5c	5	3	2	10	3.3	271	12.1
296	Z-1b	12	9	11	32	10.7	541	19.7
297	Z-1c	21	6	8	35	11.7	1002	11.6
TOTAL		1699	1533	1672	4904	1634.6		


MC-97
MC-98
MC-93
MC-31
MC-100
MC-103
MC-101
MC-102
MC-104
MC-106
MC-108
WATERTOWN
MC-107
MC-105
MC-22
MC-23
MC-24
MC-26
MC-29
MC-27
MC-25
MC-21
MC-17
MC-16
MC-44
MC-43
MC-42
MC-41
MC-40
MC-37
MC-36
MC-35
MC-39
MC-38
MC-45
MC-47
MC-46
MC-48
MC-49
MC-50
MC-51
MC-52
MC-1
MC-3
MC-4
MC-9
MC-11
MC-12
MC-13
MC-14
MC-15
SC-1
SC-2
SC-3
SC-4
SC-5
SC-6
SC-7
SC-14
SC-15
SC-16
SC-17
SC-18
CHELSEA
WINTHROP
A-1
A-2
A-4
A-5
B-3
B-5
B-6
B-2 B
C-1
C-3
D-1
D-3
E-2
F-3
G-1
H-1
H-2
H-4
I-4
J-1
J-3
K-2
K-3
K-4A
K-4B
L-1
L-2
L-3
N-1
N-2
N-4
N-5
O-1
O-2
O-3
O-4
P-1B
P-1C
P-2
P-3
P-4
P-5
P-6
T-1
T-2
T-3A
T-3B
T-4A
T-4B
T-5A
T-5B
T-6
T-6B
T-7A
T-7B
T-9
T-10
U-1
U-2
U-3
U-4
U-5
U-6A
U-6B
V-1
V-2
V-3
V-4B
V-5
V-6
W-1A
W-1B
W-2
W-3A
W-3B
W-4A
W-4B
W-5
W-6A
W-6B
W-6C
W-6D
X-1
X-2
X-3A
X-3B
X-4A
X-4B
X-5A
X-5B
X-5C
X-6A
X-6B
X-6C
Y-1
Y-2
Y-3A
Y-3B
Y-3C
Y-4
Y-5A
Y-5B
Z-1A
Z-1B
Z-1C
Z-2
NC-1
NC-2
NC-3
NC-4
NC-5
NC-6
NC-7
NC-8
NC-9
NC-10
NC-11
NC-12
BROOKLINE
B-6
B-6
SCALE

INSET A - BOSTON CITY AND ADJACENT AREA

This map is part of the report U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC(1)-18.

2 OF 2